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ABSTRACT

This report is organized in eight parts, as follows. The first part is an "overview" discussing such topics as the lack of commitment to the disadvantaged, making desegregation work, opposition to busing, and public opinion. There follow six chapters: Chapter 1, "Where Educators Stand," discusses the way professional and lay educators have swung behind desegregation as others have attacked, abandoned, or belittled it. Chapter two, "Ten Rules: How to Begin," provides some guidelines for the majority of school administrators, board members, and teachers who wish to try to make desegregation work with regard to forming alliances supporting desegregation. Chapter three, "Womanpower at Work: The League of Women Voters," describes how to utilize this group in the promotion of school desegregation. Chapter four, "Implementing Desegregation," traces the pattern which emerges from the experience of United States Office of Education and the experiences of some desegregating or desegregated school districts. Chapter five, "Getting Help from Outside," discusses the funding and location of consultants. Chapter six, "Whither Desegregation in the '70s? A Local Burden," discusses the need for individual superintendents and boards to demonstrate leadership on the race/schools issue. An "appendix" includes a glossary and various materials useful for the administrator of a desegregating school district. (Author/JM)

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DESEGREGATION

How schools are meeting historic challenge

CURRENT TRENDS in School Policies & Programs

A Publication of the
National School Public Relations Association

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This Is a Current Trends Report

Desegregation: How Schools Are Meeting Historic Challenge is the third in a series of reports on *Current Trends in School Policies and Practices.* The aim of the *Current Trends* series is to provide know-how, coping skills and understanding to school administrators, school-community relations directors, board members and other school staff as they face the demands of their jobs.

We owe thanks to many, many people who helped us gather information, obtain documents, identify concerns and interpret mountains of raw material.

In addition to the *Current Trends* reports, the National School Public Relations Association also publishes *Education U.S.A. Special Reports,* which probe in depth a single current area of education.

Desegregation, How Schools Are Meeting Historic Challenge was written by Peter Gall. It was developed by the *Education U.S.A. Special Reports* staff: Shirley Boes, Managing Editor; Walda Roseman, Editorial Research Associate; Roy K. Wilson, Editorial Director. Production: Cynthia Menand, Manager; Doris Jones, Joan Lenz, Alice Mansfield, Joyce Pullen and Yvonne Souliere.

Overview

Education is political in essence and it always has been. Desegregation is essentially a political question and it will be decided on a political basis.

Bernard C. Watson
Chairman, Urban Education Dept.
Temple U.

Bernard Watson only articulates what others have been saying in many ways. School administrators have always had to be politicians to implement educational policy, and the more controversial the policy the more politically astute the administrator had to be. For the most part, that meant local politics, often with conflicting pressures from parents, school board, students and teachers. Local politicians often make hay at school system expense, too.

Now school desegregation, in the emotionally charged guise of the "busing" issue, has brought national politics to the superintendent's doorstep. More than school prayer, more than the old fights over "progressive education" or sex education in the schools, the latest furor over desegregation catches the school superintendent and his board squarely in the middle of conflicting pressures.

That does not mean that superintendents or many parents or civil rights groups do not see the issue as it was originally framed – one of equal educational opportunity under law. Certainly, many if not most of the nation's top educators and a preponderant number of U.S. courts from the Supreme Court on down view desegregation as the means to protect minority children's rights to equal protection under the law, as the 14th Amendment to the Constitution dictates. This, in turn, means overcoming state-enforced or state-sanctioned school discrimination by reassigning children where deemed necessary to reduce racial isolation and educational deprivation.

But it is on the political level that the national debate rests. Bills have been introduced in Congress to curb drastically the use of buses in desegregation plans, with the ultimate threat a Constitutional amendment to outlaw busing altogether. Pres. Nixon said both before and after his reelection that he was against busing, and would not permit the federal government to promote busing for desegregation. And many state legislatures are softening earlier desegregation laws.

Add to this all of the publicity being given to the anti-busing forces – which cannot help but have an effect on the climate in individual school districts. Meanwhile, such desegregation advocates as the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the U.S. Senate (The Mondale Committee) go largely ignored. The committee concluded in its report issued Dec. 31, 1972, that the busing debate has "tragically blinded many to the legitimate concerns of parents from all racial and economic backgrounds."

Yeas and Nays on Desegregation

Complicating the issue for public and school officials alike are recent challenges to the premise of desegregation. A number of highly respected sociologists, some of whom had backed desegregation in the 1960s, began in 1971 and 1972 to question its value. One of the first was Harvard U.'s Nathal Glazer, co-author with Daniel P. Moynihan of *Beyond the Melting Pot.* Glazer, speaking before a San Francisco audience in November 1971, complained about the busing of Chinese, black and white students in that city: "The government has no right to break up a group." In a later article in *Commentary* magazine (March 1972), he said "much integration through transportation has been so disappointing in terms of raising achievement that it may well lead to reevaluation of the earlier research whose somewhat tenuous results raised what began to look like false hopes. . . ."

Glazer cast heavy doubts on the findings of the 1966 report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (the "Coleman Report"). Coleman's basic conclusion was that socioeconomic and racial integration together offered the best hope for raising the education level of minorities.

In the Summer 1972 issue of *Public Interest* magazine, the other shoe fell. David Armor, a sociologist at Harvard U. and an avowed integrationist, declared that indeed, review of past integration research showed that the education levels and attitudes of black students worsened or at least got no better in integrated classrooms. Armor's conclusions were attacked by his former professor, Harvard U. Prof. Thomas Pettigrew, as "distorted and incomplete." But it was Armor's view, not Pettigrew's, which received national attention and further fueled the busing controversy. Finally, still another Harvard professor, this time educator Christopher Jencks, favored integration in his book, *Inequality*, but documented its limited effect on the achievement of black children. He also said educational institutions bear too much of the burden in trying to overcome inequities in American life.

What ultimate effect the sociologists' negative or neutral conclusions might have on the courts and on educators themselves remains to be seen, of course. Some top educators have begun to rally colleagues against the Armor, Glazer and Jencks findings.

"I do not believe that the work being done by these analysts of subtle cause and effect relationships in American society should be accepted . . . as the major determinant for decisions on either school integration or educational expenditures," says Harold Howe II, a Ford Foundation vice president who served as U.S. commissioner of education in the turbulent mid-1960s. The merit of such work lies in its future promise for solving tough social problems, he said. "But as far as school integration is concerned, it should not supersede the moral and legal basis on which we have determined that segregated education denies equal protection of the laws," Howe said.

Mondale Cites Lack of Commitment to Disadvantaged

Similarly, the members of Sen. Walter Mondale's committee – even those Republican members who dissented from some portions of the majority's conclusions – say that while the family background and home environment of a student determine "in large measure" whether he succeeds in life, "we are convinced that schools also make a difference." The report states:

> We believe that money wisely spent on education, the existence or absence of modern up-to-date facilities and instructional materials, the presence or absence of well trained, qualified, sensitive teachers and staff, the socioeconomic mix of the students in classrooms, and all the other attributes of a school and the activities that take place within it also account for the success or failure of individual students and of groups of students in the schools and classrooms of this nation.

Mondale is even willing to grant many points of view on how best to achieve educational equality, but senses a deeper problem:

> What is important – and in my opinion, what is missing – is a deep and strong national commitment to justice for disadvantaged children. Erik Erickson once said, 'the most deadly of all possible sins is the mutilation of a child's spirit. . . .' We *are* mutilating the spirits of millions of American children every day, and it is surely a sin.

'Making It Work'

Despite the struggles, many school administrators believe in desegregation and have adopted a policy of "making it work." They believe on the basis of experience, on the basis of research, and frequently just because they speculate that separation of races in schools leads to separate societies. For instance, Supt. John H. Lawson of suburban Shaker Heights, Ohio, wrote in the September-October 1971 issue of *Integrated Education:*

> If one agrees that cross-cultural experiences must be provided for all children who are to participate fully in the daily realities of pluralism, then he must support integrated education in the 1970s. Inversely, he must conclude that segregated schools deny the American promise that everyone – black, white, Oriental, Indian, Spanish American – shall have a chance to achieve his full potential. Thus, in segregated schools everybody loses while in the integrated educational setting, everyone wins.

Increasingly, organized educators are siding with men like Lawson and Thomas Shaheen, former San Francisco superintendent, and with the courts. Even the skeptical Prof. Watson of Temple U.

expressed surprise in a June 1972 interview at the strength of the stands taken by the National Education Assn. and other educators before congressional committees. "I am not optimistic generally, but that is a hopeful sign," he said.

What keeps many superintendents going are continuing reports of scholastic progress out of desegregating school districts. The Berkeley, Calif., United School District, for example, is frequently cited as a "success" story in desegregation, although the district admits it has problems, too. In fact, well after sociologist Armor's findings were made public, the Berkeley district issued a report which showed: "for all four subgroups (black, white, Asian and Chicano) the median (reading) scores made in 1972 were equal to or better than the 1971 scores in at least four out of the six elementary grades." Over the six-year pull since integration began in Berkeley, "the conclusion . . . is that there has been an overall, consistent improvement in the reading achievement level of elementary school children in Berkeley," the report says.

Many Say 'No Busing'

On the other hand, many integrationists are pessimistic due to the shift in public attitudes on busing, just between 1971 and 1972. The Louis Harris poll reported on April 10, 1972, that 69% of 1,600 households polled were "not willing" to have their children bused for court ordered desegregation, compared with only 25% who were willing. The balance had gone the other way in 1971, with 47% willing, and 41% unwilling. *The New York Times* reported in May 1972 that angry opposition "stems more from busing orders that are anticipated than from those that have taken effect." The Harris poll would support that, since fully 83% of those parents with children being bused to school said they were "satisfied" with their children's bus trip, compared with a 15% "dissatisfied" count.

What causes such a turn-around in public attitudes? Admittedly, they do not change by themselves. Acts alone, such as local court decisions, rarely change the views of an entire nation. Educators have not been acting to alter public stands on desegregation, except as they have recently run counter to the trend. Political leaders, on the other hand, appear to have accelerated antagonism toward desegregation.

Public Opinion Shift: Due to Politics?

One dramatic indication of how desegregation has been rendered almost not at all an educational issue and almost completely a political issue is occurring in Michigan. There, the courts on one hand and the politicians on the other caught superintendents in Detroit and its suburbs in a pincer movement. Judge Stephen Roth of the U.S. District Court in Detroit ordered school officials to come up with a cross-district desegregation plan involving as many as 53 educational jurisdictions. He was then backed by the Circuit Court. He said official acts of the state had led to illegal segregation; busing was to be the remedy. Shortly afterward, Sen. Robert Griffin, R-Mich., introduced a Constitutional amendment to ban busing. Although Griffin had been moderate to liberal on

Nix Cites 'Northern Hypocrisy'

Georgia State Supt. Jack Nix echoes the "Northern hypocrisy" theme of many Congressional delegates from the South. "For years, the rest of the United States has held itself above the South while its citizens wrestled with the problem of eliminating the dual school system," Nix stated in a *Georgia Alert* column. "But suddenly, with the equal application of court-set formulas to bring about integration by busing, it has become a national problem."

"The solution to the problems of the ghettoes in cities like Los Angeles and Atlanta is not to bus children into an artificial environment," Nix said. "What we need is a constitutional amendment that will result in students being assigned to the school nearest their residence," he added.

the race issue, his switch was not as startling as that of Rep. James O'Hara, D-Mich. O'Hara had led floor fights on desegregation for years. And, for several years, he was the chief strategist against Rep. Jamie Whitten, D-Miss., as Whitten tried to nullify desegregation law. O'Hara did a complete about-face in 1972 when he joined Griffin and all but two of the 18-man Michigan congressional delegation in support of an antibusing amendment to the Constitution.

What are 53 Detroit area school superintendents to do? More importantly, what can they do, and how strongly can they assert their own views? What is their role in the politically charged atmosphere? The questions can be asked in thousands of school districts. And, they will be.

Adding to the Confusion . . .

The current hysteria over busing is compounded by several ironical occurrences:

- The South, with some hard-fought desegregation battles behind it, is being held up as an example of how desegregation can work, how the work of educating can be advanced in an integrated setting.

- Many studies indicate that a large dose of money alone does not overcome the educational handicaps of disadvantaged minority children. More case histories are surfacing to support the value of desegregation to the minority child and the white child as well. However, Prof. Watson of Temple U. said at the 1972 convention of the American Assn. of School Administrators (AASA): "If we think that research findings which indicate an increase in learning through desegregated schools is going to change the minds of people who are standing in front of the buses, I think we're whistling Dixie."

- Teachers, administrators, chief state school officers are shedding some of their traditional ambivalence on the subject, informed observers note, and are issuing association manifestos not only backing desegregated education but, in most cases, endorsing busing as one means of achieving that end.

- Alternative "remedies" for the disadvantaged in American society – open housing, minority hiring programs and minority business development, guaranteed annual income, among others – are being pushed no more vigorously nor are they yielding more results than they were when first announced. These unfulfilled "remedies," then, seem to leave to the schools the primary burden of redressing imbalances, much to the chagrin of many sociologists and educators, among others.

The 'Man in the Middle' Must Act

Lessons can be learned from those who have been through the difficult process of desegregation. And it seems important for the superintendent or board that wants – or is under legal compulsion – to desegregate schools, to place the immediate crisis over desegregation into the larger contexts of time and geography.

The assumption is that the man in the middle must ultimately act, and that he should have access to any and all information that may help him make and live with some difficult decisions. It is in this spirit that this report is written.

Chapter 1

Where Educators Stand

One of the least reported aspects of the great busing fights is the way professional and lay educators – especially educational organizations – have swung behind desegregation as others have attacked, abandoned or belittled it. In some cases, the increased support for desegregation, and busing as a means of achieving it, are unusual simply because they run so counter to national political pressures.

NSBA

Thus, the National School Boards Assn. (NSBA), composed of the school board members who are elected to office on the strength of their policy decisions, made a majority decision in April 1972 to ask local and state officials to take "affirmative action" toward a "quality integrated educational experience." NSBA added that "where transportation of children is one of those methods (to integrate), all races should be treated equally."

NSBA also said flatly that the federal government should give financial support to court-ordered desegregation, including funds for busing.

AASA

Were board members stimulated by the action of their administrative officers? The American Assn. of School Administrators two months earlier stated in its resolution: "We believe integrated schools to be the best preparation for participation in America's multi-ethnic society. . . Superintendents have an affirmative responsibility to provide the leadership, not only to desegregate schools but also to integrate teaching staffs, curriculum and activities."

As for the means of desegregation, AASA noted that bus transportation is one means, along with paired schools, magnet schools, special schools and gerrymandering. "All school districts should use these and other means to the extent necessary to provide meaningful, integrated education." Then, while praising Congress and the President for funding desegregation through the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA), the resolution urged that "number one priority" be given to covering the cost of busing with that ESAA money.

Thus, both board members and their superintendents ran against the sentiment of Congress and the Administration by recognizing a need for integration and by asking that the federal government aid in busing efforts required by law.

CCSSO

Most surprising of all to some educators was the strong stand for desegregation taken by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO). Mum or barely commital in the past, the association stated in 1972 that, "Although transportation of students as a method of achieving desegregation has become a highly controversial issue throughout the nation, the members . . . believe it is a viable means of achieving educational opportunity and should be supported." And without singling out Pres. Nixon, CCSSO added that "state and federal legislative and executive efforts to impede or prohibit school desegregation are increasing. The council believes that state education agencies should continue to resist all efforts to prohibit implementation of school desegregation."

NEA

If nothing else, then, desegregation is providing a common ground on which most administrator and teacher organizations can agree. In the summer of 1971, the Representative Assembly of the National

Education Assn. (NEA) said "it is imperative that desegregation of the nation's schools be effected. Policies . . . must be strengthened and must comply with . . . judicial decisions and with civil rights legislation." Since that time, NEA has gone to court on the side of the controversial plan to consolidate the city of Richmond, Va., with suburban Henrico and Chesterfield Counties and desegregate them together. The NEA also intervened on behalf of minority children in a Denver desegregation case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

AFT

The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, made their strongest statement about busing in March 1972. At that time, AFT Pres. David Selden testified against antibusing amendments before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary. Selden said "all other things being equal, integration is an educational plus as well as a legal and moral necessity."

Busing, too, was seen as a need. "It is quite apparent that this nation cannot long survive if half the population has to be bused to where the other half lives in order to observe as an exhibit what a decent American standard of living is supposed to be. But until we have taken steps to establish a truly integrated society, stop-gap measures such as busing are an absolute necessity," Selden said.

UFT

Albert Shanker, president of AFT-affiliated United Federation of Teachers in New York City, contended in his weekly *New York Times* column in the spring of 1972 that "the issue actually is not busing. Millions of children are now bused. . . . What sounds like a prohibition against busing [antibusing amendments before Congress] is in fact a death blow to any plan to desegregate schools whether or not busing is involved. . . ."

Similarly, the NEA-affiliated New York State Teachers Assn. testified against an antibusing constitutional amendment through its president, Tom Hobart: "If quality, integrated education is ever to be attained to a significant degree – or even if racial imbalance is to be restrained to its present level – all possible means of achieving desegregation, including busing, must be utilized."

MEA

In the state of Michigan, the board of directors of the Michigan Education Assn. (MEA) endorsed a statement by its Human Relations Commission in November 1971 designed to head off the abandonment of school desegregation in favor of "alternatives."

The statement is not long, but it is direct:

> We, the Human Relations Commission of the MEA, affirm the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution as interpreted by court rulings insuring equal educational opportunity for all our children, including busing as one possible method of achieving quality education. And we support the effective implementation of open housing and fair employment laws which will insure an integrated community.

Not all Michigan school superintendents, school board members and teachers agree with their organization's stand.

Michigan not only has a big busing imbroglio coming up in the Detroit metro case, but has already gone through the trauma of community fights, bus demolition and the creation of a national antibusing organization in Pontiac, the National Action Group (NAG). All grew out of a federal judge's decision that Pontiac had discriminated by official acts and must desegregate with busing. Now there is some consensus that Pontiac has settled into orderly, if not enthusiastic, desegregation.

PTA

Finally, the PTA, the one organization where parents and teachers have a national institutional bond, reaffirmed at the May 1972 convention a "long standing PTA conviction" that busing is "one way to achieve quality education for all children." Passed by only a six-vote margin, the resolution included as a way to quality education "[a] search for solutions that could by rational means reduce racial isolation through transportation and to develop other viable alternative methods for providing quality education."

The vote was close and the language was convoluted, but it still had a different outcome than votes taken in the House or Senate of the U.S. Congress.

Pres. Nixon Takes Antibusing Stand

All educators who back their professional associations' stand of favoring desegregation and the use of busing are in direct opposition to the stand taken by Pres. Nixon. In March 1972, the President's antibusing program called for a moratorium on court-ordered busing at least until July 1973. At the same time, he favored pouring more compensatory education money into low-income, usually segregated schools.

As the Washington, D.C., *Star* editorialized on March 18, 1972, in answer to the President's message: "Caught in the middle are school superintendents and school board members from districts now desegregating under court order, who feel the ground is being cut out from under them."

President's Position Criticized

Among those critical of the President's policy was Ralph W. Hornbeck, superintendent of the Pasadena, Calif., School District until August 1972. He found Nixon to be "keeping the pot boiling," and to be "posing the question, 'How can we desegregate without busing?' " But, Hornbeck said, "he did not give us an answer." Pasadena buses 12,500 of the system's 27,500 students, having gone through its court test back in 1969.

Pres. Nixon was also criticized in a statement by Wayne Carle, superintendent in Dayton, Ohio. Carle said the President "is a lawyer, but he demeans his profession and the presidency in using the letter of the law to kill the spirit of the law on racial justice. The President has reinvoked the 'separate but equal' doctrine. I believe that justice – and integration – ultimately will prevail over his regressive policy, but I feel the President should be taken at his word to provide federal funds for inner-city schools." Carle is an example of an educator caught in the middle of a community battle, who nonetheless felt compelled to speak out against the prevailing mood. In fact, some factions in Dayton, a city torn by a divided board and implementation of a desegregation plan, began to ask for Carle's resignation.

At the state level, Florida's education commissioner, Floyd Christian, predicted an "intolerable" situation would result in his state due to the President's policy. Some school districts would have to keep busing and others would not, he said. "Many parents will not understand next year when their children are still being bused," Christian said.

Others Back the President

In Georgia, busing is a state rather than a local matter since the U.S. Justice Dept. filed a federal suit and won a statewide desegregation order in 1970. Thus, it is no surprise that the Georgia State Board of Education and State Supt. Jack Nix feel they should speak for the educators of Georgia on the subject – and they are definitely antibusing. In a February 1972 resolution, the board's second such resolution against busing in less than six months, members voted to urge the U.S. Congress to "adopt appropriate legislation without further delay to insure that each child attends the school nearest his or her residence offering the curriculum meeting that child's needs."

Two months later, the Georgia board adopted a new policy which facilitated a type of "white flight." In this case white flight was possible without the necessity for parents to move to a new district. "It is the right of the parent or guardian to determine where his child shall attend school subject only to the control of the local system board of education receiving the child," reads the state board policy. The board stated in justification of the policy that "the state board is bombarded each year with requests from parents to send their children to school systems other than the one in which they live." Thus, parents could use the policy to avoid desegregation.

Dallas' experience with desegregation showed no benefits, said Dallas schools' Supt. Nolan Estes in testimony before a Congressional judiciary subcommittee in March 1972. Estes stated further that he would support a constitutional amendment, an executive order or judicial decisions to change "devastating" busing rulings. "We find in many instances that Negro children experience decreased educational achievement, that hostility is increased and that the resegregation of our city is accelerated," Estes said.

Dallas began a closed circuit television integration program while retaining over 80% of its black students in schools which had over 80% black composition. Meanwhile, the district is appealing a U.S. District Court order to desegregate, which could result in considerable additional busing. Estes, who was an associate U.S. commissioner of education at the time of the drafting of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, says he is not opposed to integration. But he is opposed to busing at a time when his district faces more of it.

The Ideal: An Integrated, 'Humane' Society

Our national sights need to be set on "an integrated society with integrated schools that reflect humane values," Harold Howe II told a national conference on quality integrated education sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in November 1972. Howe, vice president of the Ford Foundation who served as U.S. commissioner of education in the turbulent mid-1960s, concedes that mistakes were made and much still needs to be done. He suggests, however, that the school is the rational place "to start the revolution that is required in our values and behavior in the interest of humane survival."

His speech, in abridged form, follows:

Momentum has been lost in desegregating the schools. . . . Partisan political advantage has superseded principle as the arbiter of racial discrimination. . . . Children continue to be victims of an adult society that imposes its prejudices on the next generation. The record on these matters is too clear to warrant debate. . . .

What do we do now?

Any response must start from a basic assumption about what matters. I submit that the only, acceptable, long-term goal for American society is a fully integrated social system without evidences of discrimination based on race, religion, sex, or national origin. Ten or fifteen years ago those who believed in such a goal were in the vanguard of social reform. Their views were widely accepted as the basis for changing public policy and for encouraging private action in reducing discrimination and enhancing the rights and opportunities of minorities. But now the picture is less clear. It is less clear for four reasons:

1. Minority group persons (particularly blacks) have created their own separatist movements that threaten the spirit, if not the substance, of an integrated society.

2. The lively researches of statistically oriented social scientists have cast some shadows on conventional assumptions about the benefits of integration, particularly in the schools.

3. Many people feel or believe that an integrated society somehow threatens their jobs, property or future security.

4. Those of us who have provided leadership for the move toward an integrated society have not always been as wise as we might have.

It is not surprising that some blacks have, since the mid-sixties, rejected integration as the solution to anything and sought black identification, togetherness and power. If those of us who are pushing so hard for integration had been sensitive enough, we would have been aware long before we were that it can be damaging to blacks both psychologically and economically. Early moves toward integration went too far in the direction of asking blacks and other minorities to join American society solely on white terms, to forget any pride or interest in their own heritage, or, if you will, to become white men.

Now we know that integration has to be a two-way street, that it is not just a simple matter of mixing people in some judicially or administratively determined proportion, that non-whites as well as whites must help to set the terms, and that these terms must include as a matter of dignity and right the opportunity for non-whites to lead and control some of the institutions in our pluralistic society. It is partly for this reason, for example, that I see the traditionally black colleges as significant. In a country where blacks don't run many essential social institutions, these colleges, that are numerically less significant every year in the education of blacks, have a special place in the resolution of "the American Dilemma."

Economically, blacks have suffered in school integration. Principals have lost their jobs, as have teachers, and blacks have, in general, lost out in the promotion and appointment processes of newly desegregated schools. This problem is starkly documented in a May 1972 report entitled *It's Not Over in the South.* It is not surprising that facts like these have cooled some black ardor for integration.

It would be a mistake for me to take on the social science community in regard to the effects and usefulness of school integration. . . . I'll tell you in oversimplified form what I get from reading Coleman, Mosteller and Moynihan, and Jencks:

1. They present no clear case for or against integration of the schools as an important social goal, although they suggest its limited usefulness as far as certain measurable outcomes of schooling are concerned.

2. They present a much clearer analysis of the pervasive effect of poverty on an individual's future opportunities, and they raise some serious questions about the capacity of current practices in schools to overcome the disadvantages of poverty. These analyses of the average results of current practices should not, however, be interpreted to mean that a school is unable to improve a youngster's chances in life or that education does not pay off for the individual.

I do not believe that the work being done by these analysts of subtle cause and effect relationships in American society should be accepted by educational policy makers or by political figures as the major determinant for decisions on either school integration or educational expenditures. Their work . . . should not supersede the moral and legal basis on which we have determined that segregated education denies equal protection of the laws.

I conclude that American society has no other choice for

the future than to make integration work in its schools, housing and other institutions. Basically, I think that this is the choice that will produce a humane society and allow a humane form of public education.

No declaration for integrated education is worth supporting without a recognition of the hazards and problems that accompany it. I'd like to divide these into two categories – those that are external to the individual school and those internal to it. In the first are all the familiar problems of bringing about pupil integration in a society that segregates its living patterns by both race and income groupings.

1. The degree to which integration of the schools is so dependent upon housing patterns that it becomes impractical has been exaggerated. With very minor increases in pupil transportation and with careful re-working of school attendance lines considerably more school integration can be achieved in both North and South. . . .

2. The Supreme Court in its April 1971 decision in the Charlotte, N.C., case set forth a moderate and clear position regarding the constitutional rights of pupils to desegregated education and the obligations of school districts to provide it including, if necessary, the use of busing within limits.

3. Many of the initiatives that will be most valuable not only in bringing about integration but also in making it work will be state and local decisions – not rulings of the Supreme Court or legislation by the Congress.

   Current efforts at the federal level to restrict the options of states and localities in using federal funds to assist with school integration problems as locally planned also deny the essence of our federal system and inhibit the opportunities of children. In addition, this important area of local, voluntary action is significantly encouraged or discouraged by the tone of national leadership in racial issues.

4. Those of us who have pushed for integration have shown an extraordinary insensitivity to the concerns of those groups known as "the ethnics" or sometimes as "the hardhats" in American society. Whether justified or not, these lower middle income Americans have had genuine fears that we have failed to appreciate and that we should not dismiss as being solely racist in nature. . . .

5. Both legal interpretations and our best guesses about sensible education policy lead us to the reduction of racial isolation as a desirable goal. Obviously, there are practical limits based upon the distribution of people from different races and backgrounds. The schools do not have full control of the problem because forces outside them dictate where people live and work. Also, there remains the perplexing issues of how to give blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others a sense that the schools belong to them too. . . . The business of getting more minority group teachers and administrators into the schools also is a priority task.

Let me turn now to what I really want to emphasize: the internal aspects of the school.

Racial and economic integration of educational institutions is a prerequisite for bringing about emphasis on humane values within these institutions – humane values that include kindness, compassion and benevolence toward all human beings. . . . To the degree that an institution says "no admittance" to some class of persons . . . it diminishes the chance that those it does admit will have a total sense of humanity. This is the basic argument against segregation, against apartheid. It is based upon the view that physical or cultural differences among men breed fear and suspicion that are passed on from one generation to the next, but that these can be overcome by the rational and civilized attainments of human beings. The schools are especially important because there most of us have our earliest and most impressionable experiences with people outside our own families. Racial prejudice is learned, not inherited. . . .

Administrators: Job on the Line?

What is theory to the sociologist, politician or educational philosopher comes home hard to the local school superintendent. Average job tenure in big cities for superintendents is reported to be less than two years, and racial issues frequently contribute to the departure of the chief school officer.

Thomas Shaheen, until recently the superintendent in San Francisco, was dismissed after a busing crisis; Harvey Scribner resigned as New York City superintendent under pressure from his board after a nasty fight over the integration of schools in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn. Shaheen, at least, knew what he was in for when he arrived at San Francisco; he rented a house instead of buying as was his practice in previous locations.

. . . There has been much research and argument about whether or not integration produces better reading scores or better mathematics scores or fewer dropouts among minority group children. I want to assert that there are vastly more significant considerations in the intangible effects on individual children of being segregated or integrated and in addition vastly more significant considerations in the influence of education upon the nature and values of the society. These were the broad grounds upon which the Supreme Court reached its views in the *Brown* decision of 1954 – that separation is incapable of producing equality.

But the battle is far from won when a school enrolls a cross section of Americans among its students. We know that inside the desegregated school young people are experiencing discrimination. In the guidance office, in the testing procedures, in assignment to programs and courses, in the application of discipline, and in countless other ways, there is clear evidence that segregation and discrimination have moved inside the school – probably with greater impact in the secondary schools than the elementary because of the track systems and pupil assignment practices typical of the upper years of schooling. In recommendations like those of the Fleischman Commission in New York State for the abolition of the so-called "general program" . . . you have evidence of current efforts to attack this interior discrimination, at least in its organizational aspects. The Fleischman Commission's policies should be applauded and supported along with others designed to change the school from an institution that sorts out young people by rejecting some and advancing others to an institution that gives dignity to all, rejection to none and a sense of progress to each.

How then to change schooling more fundamentally than by bringing together children of different races and backgrounds. The first requirement is a transition from competition to cooperation as the dominant mode and style of the school; and the second is the alteration this shift in values will imply in the authority structure and human relationships within the school.

If we are to have a humane society anywhere in the world, we shall have to rid ourselves of much of the competitiveness that dominates our every action and decision. Greater cooperation is the only possible answer to the perils that lie ahead. . . . So I suggest that the school is one place to start the revolution that is required in our values and behavior in the interest of humane survival. . . .

Educational change that will emphasize humane values will have to come from the bottom up. It will have to start with teachers and parents who get together and seek ways both to interest children and to make them more successful. It will involve the pupils themselves in the process. It will depend upon initiatives in the individual school or in small groups of schools in which people know each other well. Massive educational hierarchies at city, state and national levels will only get in the way unless they learn how to create an atmosphere that supports and frees the initiatives of teachers, parents, administrators and students in the schools. People within the individual school and school community should have more control than they typically do over the expenditure of the funds that are supposed to be improving education and over the design of programs to make schools more responsive to children.

In setting our sights on an integrated society with integrated schools that reflect humane values, we are declaring an idealistic position. That is, we are trying to bring about conditions that a hard-headed view might call difficult, if not impossible, to attain. . . .

But our history provides too many examples of success in producing constructive change in our social institutions to surrender to the doctrine that we should abandon our ideals and accept our imperfections because the task of change is too great.

Do Teachers Favor Busing?

What is the urban teacher's attitude on busing? This question was asked of AFT Pres. David Selden by Rep. Abner Mikva, D-Ill., during Congressional hearings. And Selden gave perhaps the most detailed, if not most plausible, response that a teachers' spokesman has enunciated:

Teachers are in most respects like other people. They want to be able to succeed at what they are doing and they like to do it in as comfortable a way as possible. It is easier to teach white middle-class children, by and large, than it is to teach nonwhite, economically deprived, ghetto children.

So teachers who have found their way to those pockets where the white middle-class lives quite naturally are not too enthusiastic about busing. . . . On the other hand, as our cities become more and more ghettoized and the schools continue to decline, the number of teachers in favor of busing to get a different social mix increases. . . .

It is very difficult to teach in schools where children come from environments which inhibit school-type learning. . . . If this mixture could be leavened, the teachers involved would be able to do a better job and everybody would benefit.

A separate element in big Southern school districts affects the way teachers feel, too, Selden says:

Now, in the South . . . teachers are accepting the law. They are trying to live with it. By and large, they are succeeding. I would hate to have Congress come along now and tell them that "It was all a big mistake. You were wrong." And this is really the kind of emotion that you are dealing with.

Chapter 2

Ten Rules: How To Begin

For the majority of school administrators, board members and teachers who wish to try to make desegregation work in the current political climate, some bitter experience shows that they must form allies around them to succeed.

Forming alliances supporting desegregation also requires an uncommon amount of leadership and know-how on the part of the board and the school superintendent. It means involvement, seeking help, listening to all, and, finally, commitment and action.

These conclusions emerge from desegregation attempts which go back as far as 1954, and from battles which are reported in the press almost daily. In *It's Not Over in the South,* a study of 43 urban, Southern school districts released in May 1972, the authors say success did not seem to depend on either the percentage of black and white students or whether "new transportation arrangements" were required.

Instead, "districts in which the school, political and community leadership made an effort to devise and support an effective desegregation plan usually had the most successful experiences," according to the study. "Where political leaders sought to capitalize on the busing issue, or where the school board resisted mandates to develop new desegregation plans, the system's constituency took its cue and community resistance flourished. This observation has been made so many times during the past decade of the school desegregation movement it is a truism but apparently many school systems have not yet learned from the lessons of those who experienced desegregation before them." (The six civil rights groups cooperating on the study were: Alabama Council on Human Relations, American Friends Service Committee, Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., Southern Regional Council and Washington Research Project.)

The need to create a positive attitude has also been stressed by federal court rulings and the now-abandoned guidelines of the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. They all emphasize that what must be done by law must be done regardless of community attitudes.

Following are 10 rules on how to begin, many illustrated by the experiences of various school districts and communities as they tried to meet or melt community resistance.

Rule 1: Gain Community Support

Pasadena: North or South, communities need to be actively led into successful desegregation, according to Ralph Hornbeck, former superintendent of Pasadena, Calif., schools. In describing before a Senate committee what he felt to be a successful (court-ordered) desegregation experience, Hornbeck said, "probably our main problem has been that of community acceptance. We have a tremendous number of people who are tremendously supportive of what we are doing. . . . We also have a strong element in the community that fears this thing greatly, and is working very hard against us and really would like to see the plan fail." He told of a recall attempt in 1970 against the majority of the board of education because the board voted not to appeal a federal district court decision calling for further integration. The recall failed, but by a scant 5% or less, depending on the member involved, Hornbeck said.

"That election was held in the middle of October," said Hornbeck. "I think if it had been held just before school started, or the first week of school . . . it would have been successful. We worked like crazy to get the plan working smoothly enough in that first month so that people would begin to accept it."

Rochester, N.Y., board members – and their desegregation plan – did not squeak by the way Pasadena had. An antibusing majority took over in late 1971, even as a court suit threatened more desegregation instead of less.

Prepare Ye the Way for Desegregation

What's a superintendent to do when he's faced with a federal court order to desegregate, white flight to the suburbs, protest, anger and concern on the part of parents, and escalating problems in school operations. Or rather, what can he do?

One solution used by the Metropolitan Public Schools of Nashville and Davidson County, Tenn., centered around a detailed public relations program. E.T. Carothers, Nashville supervisor of public relations, outlined the program for a seminar group, sponsored by the National School Public Relations Assn. in the summer of 1972:

- Set up an information center with extra telephones and kept the center opened beyond normal working hours and some weekends. Phones were manned by staff members, teachers and selected substitute teachers and parents.
- Utilized extensively the services of newspapers, radio and television to call attention to the fact that the problems were not school problems alone, but community problems.
- Held orientation, information and strategy sessions with all news media, staff and PTA representatives.
- Returned principals, assistant principals, and guidance counselors to their assigned schools one week earlier than the regular time of reporting. This made them available to parents, teachers and students who were affected by new zone changes.
- Conducted "Open House" and "See Your Schools" week prior to the opening of schools.
- Met with ministerial groups and requested them to assist in "readying the community" for change.
- Conducted neighborhood group meetings with interested parents and encouraged them to enlist others in support of public education.
- Conducted town hall meetings for the purpose of giving and receiving information.
- Worked closely with organizations such as the Metropolitan Nashville Education Assn., League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, the Inner-High Student Council.
- Made space, equipment, information and refreshments available to the news media during picketing at central office headquarters.

"To even suggest that our extensive and oft-times elaborate communication techniques were a panacea for all of our perplexing problems is idiotic," Carothers said. The district still has many problems and will continue to have some, he added. "But I believe that our school system faced fewer problems during the 1971-72 school year because we kept the community informed, we involved the citizenry in the communication process and we made a concerted effort to train our staff to react appropriately during the crisis situation occasioned by court-ordered integration," Carothers concluded.

Earlier, a **Denver, Colo.**, school board majority backing a voluntary desegregation plan was defeated and the plan junked; that action triggered a court suit in the U.S. Supreme Court to determine whether citywide busing was to be enforced in order to overcome "deliberate" segregation. Ironically, one of the deliberate acts cited by the judge was the rejection of earlier, voluntary desegregation steps.

The **Houston** Independent School District tried another tack. It has a "progressive" or "liberal" school board which, according to the authors of the *It's Not Over* study, has deliberately stopped short of real desegregation in hopes of maintaining the board's liberal balance and halting "tremendous white flight" from the district. The Houston plan now calls for teacher and administrator desegregation, special attention to minority students – especially Mexican Americans – and other concessions to black and Spanish-speaking parents and students, including cultural recognition of Mexican Americans in curriculum and textbook material. The study noted that Houston was "trying to find out if quality education with justice and opportunity can be realized even in a system that is segregated along racial and ethnic lines. . . . 'If the neighborhood school policy (i.e., separate but equal) does not work in Houston, it will work nowhere.' " While the report said it "deplores" the continued segregation, it applauded "the atmosphere of movement and hope" which has come out of Houston's compromise between no action and full desegregation.

Rule 2: Establish Early and Positive Leadership

A case study of desegregation in Greensboro, N.C., can help illustrate the rule: Establish Early and Positive Leadership. The case study is drawn from *School Desegregation in the Carolinas,* by William Bagwell, a Cheyney (Pa.) State College teacher.

Greensboro was the first public school system in the southeastern United States even to desegregate partially – and did it in 1957 with much fanfare and in spite of the fact that the then-governor of North Carolina, Luther Hodges, was appealing for "voluntary separation of the races."

A lot of the credit for successful integration of Greensboro goes to Ben L. Smith, school superintendent in 1954. Supt. Smith demonstrated an unusual quality of leadership, Bagwell says. Because of state board of education restrictions at the time, actual desegregation could not begin right away, but Smith immediately started to *prepare* the community and the school for integration. He described the steps to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission:

- The reference in the [school] handbook to biracial organization was eliminated.
- Schools were listed in the directory alphabetically instead of by races as had been done previously.
- Joint meetings of white and Negro principals and supervisors were held regularly instead of occasionally as had been done prior to this.

Such steps, which seem minor by today's light, were clearly strong signals in 1954. Stronger still was Smith's rhetoric, as he later recalled it:

> I talked with individuals and small and large groups: principals, teachers, parents, ministers, lay citizens. I said over and over again that the (Supreme Court) decision had overthrown a long-standing tradition, that the decision was inevitable . . ., the decision is law and there is no probability of its reversal nor of the adoption of a constitutional amendment to the contrary.
>
> I stated that I did not think the decision incompatible with the ideals of democratic government and the ideals of the Judeo-Christian religion. . . . It would not bring the millenium for the Negro, nor signal doomsday for the white.

That was about two decades ago. Smith, typical for that time and in that context, also said he "appealed for the observance of law and order." If "law and order" has lost its civil rights overtones, much of what Greensboro did is still valid. In 1956, Smith was a lonely North Carolina educator against a new state law which permitted tuition grants to whites fleeing desegregation, and which let districts close schools rather than desegregate them. In July 1957, the Greensboro Board of Education voted to permit the transfer of six blacks to two previously all-white schools. The chairman said the board had acted in "support of the laws of the United States, as well as those of the State of North Carolina." A Protestant minister and a Jewish rabbi immediately commended the board. The Greensboro *Daily News,* which had

editorially supported the superintendent in his previous moves, criticized Gov. Hodges for failing to approve the first Southern desegregation move. It said "local officials are entitled to support for what they have done in accord with their oaths of office."

For his strong words and action, Smith paid a price of heavy harrassment: Crosses were burned on his lawn, his windows were smashed, and threats were made on his life.

Community forces were drawn into the mid-1957 activity. Both newspapers were supportive. The Greensboro Ministers Fellowship spoke up for the city's religious leaders. Research by Bagwell shows that some churches had both sermons and discussion groups for youth and adults on the topic, "How To Make the Transition a Successful One." The school board members invited border state school superintendents who had already desegregated in to talk about their experiences.

Shortly before school opened, Supt. Smith told his principals and supervisors to "withhold adverse comment on the recent *Brown* decision." Any who could not support the new policy "should sever their connections with the city school system," Smith is quoted as saying. Even before desegregation began, in 1955, the system had begun limiting the hiring of new teachers to those with "no strong opposition" to teaching in a desegregated classroom.

During preparations for school opening, the American Friends Service Committee and other civil rights groups played a monitoring role as well as one of persuasion in the community. Just before school opened, the local police department, while keeping private its views on desegregation, told parents and pupils that anyone who might "be molested," should immediately report it for police action.

It seems obvious that there was an atmosphere in Greensboro conducive to school desegregation. And yet the firm stand of the superintendent – which led in 1958 to the first black girl graduating from a white high school in that area of the country – was singled out by Greensboro leaders as one of the "most important" factors in Greensboro's desegregation. And, it was done without political backing.

What is happening in Greensboro in the 1970s? It has problems, according to 1972 reports. District officials were summoned into court in 1971 and given an order to approximate in each school the roughly 70-30 ratio of white to black students systemwide. That meant busing. News reports from Greensboro indicate that the hope of a busing moratorium (some 16,700 of 29,000 children were bused daily for an average five miles over 15 or 20 minutes) angered some white parents who felt they could have escaped it all, and disturbed others who feared accelerated white flight of the kind that led some 2,000 white students to leave the system between the 1971 and 1972 school year.

And yet the six civil rights groups in the *It's Not Over* report say that Greensboro is illustrative of "the positive things that can happen and the negative things that can be avoided if community leaders, black and white, take a hold of things." The report adds that an "enlightened majority of the school board was critical."

Community acceptance of the 1971 order was "probably superior to that of almost any other city in the South," according to the civil rights report. But the report gives a lion's share of credit for that acceptance to the City Chamber of Commerce, instead of the superintendent.

What the chamber did could be done by any group, but it was done by the "establishment" with the use of politically pre-emptive techniques – much admired by the *It's Not Over* monitors.

"Soon after the court order, the Chamber's Community Unity Division established a group known as the Concerned Citizens for Schools. The name of the organization was carefully chosen so that those opposed to the desegregation order would be unable to organize a group and, as so frequently happens, name it Concerned Parents or Concerned Citizens," the report says.

The result, the authors add, is that Concerned Citizens, which ultimately received federal funding under a desegregation grant program, not only mobilized support for the desegregation plan and helped in its implementation but also was able "to step into the leadership vacuum which is often filled by vocal opponents to desegregation."

The Chamber of Commerce and other organizations financed and sponsored "several" sensitivity sessions in the spring before the court order. The sessions included students, teachers and parents. The Community Unity Division of the chamber had also been sponsoring neighborhood "bull sessions" in the previous year, "and this may have also been responsible for the successful implementation of the desegregation plan," the report says.

What is not offered in the civil rights report nor in Bagwell's book is a judgment on whether the leadership shown by Supt. Smith in 1954 helped to create the climate that won the admiration of six skeptical civil rights organizations in 1972.

Rule 3: Do It Yourself—If You Must

When Neil V. Sullivan arrived as the new superintendent in Berkeley, Calif., in 1964, secondary school desegregation had just started in the city's schools. He was hired because he was a known desegregation activist. The job was a big one, and the issues complex. Sullivan described the city as "progressive, permissive, aesthetic, sophisticated, liberal, activist and far out . . . (with) its conservative, reactionary and racist elements."

As Sullivan began his four-year campaign to completely desegregate the public schools, he did so in an atmosphere of some bitterness over an unsuccessful recall election involving the desegregation issue in junior high schools. Conservatives had permitted only two of 11 bond issues to pass in 36 years. One of the conservative elements was the Berkeley newspaper, *Daily Gazette,* which Sullivan said was "vigorously" supporting the recall of the school board members who favored desegregation of the secondary schools.

By the time he left the city at the end of 1968, he could and did boast that Berkeley was the "first American city with a population of more than 100,000 with a large minority group enrollment to completely integrate its schools."

Sullivan describes in his book, *Now Is the Time,* how he rallied pro-integration forces by initiating some "new directions":

- He personally called and wrote letters to hundreds of citizens inviting them to come to his office to discuss education.
- He stressed in speeches the immediate needs of the Berkeley schools, the importance of integration and the need for more emphasis on reading. He criticized textbook publishers for their emphasis on middle-class, Caucasian culture at the expense of minority children, and wrote a weekly education column for the *Daily Gazette.*
- Bimonthly school board meetings were moved out of the administration building into different schools for every other meeting.
- Complaints and ideas were put on the school board agenda in order to stimulate discussion.
- A School Master Plan Committee of 135 members nominated by a cross section of the public mulled both immediate and long range plans.

One thing Sullivan did not talk about was the new desegregation plan of 1964. "For me to have spoken out in praise that first year would only have created more friction. So against my nature, I was silent," he states.

But in November 1965, Sullivan and his board recommended limited busing, of some 240 Negro children from overcrowded ghetto schools to white neighborhood schools. It had been talked through long before it was presented for board action. Sullivan writes of the preparation:

> Nothing was being sprung on the public. . . . [For] over six months, discussion had been pursued intensively by board members, school administration, teaching staff, PTA's, League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, church groups. Plans were made, criticized, revised and studied again. Hundreds of teachers, including both teachers organizations, had been involved. Administrators brought the plan into every speech they were asked to make.

It was from that base of leadership on the desegregation issue that Berkeley built from limited desegregation in 1964 to full desegregation in 1968. Sullivan advises other school superintendents who want to make desegregation work: "Committed superintendents will have to go it alone. . . . It must be a do-it-yourself process."

Rule 4: Emphasize the Positive

Ralph Hornbeck saw the need to emphasize the positive educational value of desegregation as he tackled the compounded segregation problems he faced as superintendent of the Pasadena, Calif., schools in 1969.

Pasadena had been going through agonies over school desegregation all through the 1960s. By 1968, a law suit was coming to a head in federal district court. Although the judge's decision and order did not come until 1970, the district school board decided to take the initiative in December 1969. It did so by adopting a policy to completely integrate the school system with a plan to start with the secondary schools.

When the court order came down in February 1970, the board took the advice of its legal counsel

and decided not to appeal the judgment. It directed the staff to prepare a plan for elementary schools to complement the secondary school plan. Even after the court order, however, Hornbeck did not take refuge in the argument that "the courts made us do it." In an October progress report to the community, he took his stand in answering the million-dollar question:

> Why integrate? Students must be freed from the "trap" of educational (not just racial) segregation. When the overwhelming majority of pupils in any school are members of a racial minority and therefore saddled with the frustrations which are unfortunately associated with this role, when they are also from lower income homes with problems of nutritional and other deprivation, and from neighborhoods in which feelings of failure and hostility are common, when they therefore enter school with an inadequate foundation for learning, such a pervasive negative atmosphere exists that "equal educational opportunity" is a myth.

Hornbeck took as gospel the results of studies which showed the educational value of desegregation, and included some preaching in his progress report:

> Research shows that the educational level of one's fellow students is a crucial factor in reaching satisfactory educational outcome, that when low-achieving students are placed with higher-achieving students they make statistically significant, sometimes startling gains and that the achievement increase of the stronger students is not retarded but remains constant or gains even further.
>
> Sound ethnic balance in schools is imperative if we are to reach the goals of education in our multiracial society.

Half a year later, Hornbeck was asked by the Senate Select Committee, whether he thought desegregation was an "essential element" in bringing equal education to reality.

"Yes, I do, and I do to the point that it is worth the sweat, and it is a lot of sweat. . . . Teachers who have been in the kind of (segregated) schools that I have described, who have been to the point of frustration, are seeing fantastic opportunities," Hornbeck responded.

Rule 5: Spread Good Information; Kill Rumors

Squelching rumors and providing fast, accurate information can help to keep any attempted desegregation plan moving forward and to create a bond of trust between the school administration and the community which must accept the plan, say many administrators.

Successful ways to provide the needed information are many and vary with local circumstances and the amount of help the school administrator can muster. He may already have a well operating school community relations office to handle the task for him. If not, he must find some other efficient way to get information out, before rumors and complaints start. The following examples illustrate different ways some districts have handled this problem.

Jackson, Miss., chalked up some good marks in 1971-72 from civil rights monitoring groups as a result of a citizen information effort, appropriately called the Rumor Center. The center's aim was not to urge acceptance of desegregation, for that was already mandated by the courts, but to get white parents to keep their children in the public schools, reported the Southern Regional Council (SRC).

The council commended the Rumor Center, which was operated by five PTA volunteers who handled up to 40 calls in one 2-hour period. Most of the calls came from white parents. Assisted by a prepared fact sheet, the volunteers answered such questions as:

Q. "Does the federal government or the courts determine what courses are or are not taught in our schools?"
A. "No. The local board of trustees determines what the curriculum is in our schools."

Q. "Are there other Mississippi school systems which have similar student racial characteristics that have satisfactorily desegregated?"
A. "Yes. For instance, McComb and Aberdeen."

Pasadena, Calif., had only from February to September to prepare the way for implementation of a 1970 court-ordered desegregation plan. Information was assigned a high priority and its dissemination was coordinated by the Pasadena League of Women Voters. Many community groups sponsored neighborhood discussions, public meetings and exchanges involving white and black parents, reported the league in a 1971 report. League

members also served on a "summer task force" which organized and staffed 25 information booths at shopping centers prior to the opening of school.

The league's largest undertaking was the Information Center which 55 members operated for 22 weeks at the school district's offices, answering over 3,000 inquiries. Tabulations of these calls indicated that the tone in 80% of them was positive toward or accepting of the new plan; most people simply wanted to know what school their children would attend and where they would catch the bus.

In a 1972 tip sheet on community involvement for successful desegregation, the Pasadena Area League of Women Voters found another good use for the information center: "It gave citizens a place to vent their anger and fears."

The league emphasized three additional reasons why information programs are valuable:

- Forums and community meetings with knowledgeable speakers on integration are valuable. School board meetings in various schools throughout the district are helpful, with community involvement whenever possible. The superintendent's participation at PTA council meetings can inform people who communicate with schools throughout the district.

- Communication of the facts against misinformation can mean the difference between success and failure of the program. Fact sheets from the education center and PTA newsletters can combat propaganda.

- Conveying accurate information to real estate brokers and the community is particularly important when white flight is thought to be a problem.

In **Denver, Colo.**, a federal judge felt so strongly about the worth of the factual material on desegregation that he ordered the Denver school district to work out a "meaningful, specific program" to educate faculty, students and parents on the subject. U.S. District Court Judge William E. Doyle said he considered the informational programs more important than busing because of the importance of community cooperation in desegregation.

"It is discouraging when you encounter concepts that suggest color, or lack of it, give you more spirit or human quality or increase your virtues," Judge Doyle said. He said that "blind fears" were the result of a lack of community enlightenment. "You can't pull it off merely by setting up a bus schedule," the judge said.

According to a source within the district, the administration responded not with educational and sociological data to support desegregation, or any exhortations to desegregate (because the board majority was against further busing and had appealed Judge Doyle's decision), but with quotes from the judge's decision itself. "We relied very heavily on the court order for our informational program," the spokesman said. It was tacit recognition of the fact that what the court order said could be complied with in a "letter of the law" sense while the spirit of the community – and board – majority was maintained, he observed.

Many, if not most school districts take the initiative by writing and distributing fact sheets. A few national organizations like the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights have published booklets suitable for parent and community consumption on the subject, but these are rare and may lack the appeal of a locally produced and locally oriented information program. Some districts go beyond mere fact sheets.

The **Houston** Independent School District, for instance, gets mixed but predominantly positive marks from major civil rights groups. The district accentuated in tabloid headlines both the positive ("Equal Opportunity School Board's Goal") and the positive-negative ("No Mass Busing. Houston Plan: Neighborhood School Zones") in an 8-page Sunday supplement to the March 19, 1972, newspapers, which a Houston school official estimated reached 650,000 homes.

"A Report of Progress: School Desegregation, From Your Superintendent of Schools," was the banner headline to the supplement. The first page contained a byline article by Supt. George A. Garver. Among his messages:

> We in Houston today are firmly committed to following the spirit and the letter of the Constitution and of the law in regard to every aspect of our school operation. This is a position from which we will not shrink and which we will follow with all of our efforts.

He followed with a description of one of the results of Houston's desegregation plan: neighborhood schools. "Children who live within the neighborhood boundaries of a school go to that school regardless of their race, unlike the previous system in which white children went to white

schools and black children went to black schools, regardless of how far the schools might have been from their homes."

After a statement of commitment to the future of Houston as a commercial and cultural center and an avowal that "everyone has a stake in Houston," the last paragraph on the front page had a bald appeal to Sunday supplement readers: "To succeed we need your help, we need your understanding, we need your support. We ask you to inform yourself and to carry forward the traditions of tolerance and progress that are making our city great."

An article on "The School Bus" in the Houston supplement pointed out that Houston was spending less than $5 per pupil per year on transportation – less than the cost when Houston schools were officially segregated. The article boasted that "less than 5%" of the 232,000 students in Houston were riding buses under court-ordered desegregation, while Jacksonville, Fla., bused 75,000 of 122,000 students (62%), and Nashville, Tenn., bused 54,000 of its 80,000 students (68%).

Civil rights groups had earlier noted that Houston was for desegregation only when it did not involve dislocation of pupils. But the city could, and did, boast that the new neighborhood school concept was less isolating than most big city allocations of students:

> The extreme racial isolation characteristic of a segregated school system has virtually disappeared in Houston. In 1968, for example, over 64% of all black students went to schools where there were no Anglos. Today less than 9% of all black students are so isolated, a decrease of over 55%.
>
> In comparison with other large school districts, Houston now has one of the lowest percentage of black students in extreme racial isolation in the United States. Only 2 of the 10 largest districts have less extreme racial isolation than Houston (the seventh largest). Some of them, like Chicago and Baltimore, have over five times as much.

Other articles told how the courts made Southern desegregation inevitable, how outside funding sources are used to their utmost, and how students at individual schools were trying to overcome the fact that "desegregation" at one school only meant putting the blacks and Mexican Americans in one building.

It was one of the many attempts across the country to gain public support for desegregation. At the same time, however, the school board isolated itself from the articles with a line in the masthead material: "(The report) was published at regular advertising rates by the Community Relations Dept. of the Houston Public Schools under a grant from the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare through Title 45, Emergency School Assistance Program. This publication is to inform the public and is not necessarily a statement of official school board policy."

Rule 6: Involve Minorities

The 1972 law providing for federal financial aid to desegregating school districts states that public participation and representation, including at least 50% from minority groups, is a must. Specifically, the law mandates that HEW cannot approve a district's application for money unless:

1. There has been "open consultation" with public hearings about the programs to be funded.

2. The program and application were drawn "with the participation of a committee composed of parents of children participating in the program for which assistance is sought, teachers, and where applicable, secondary school students. At least half the members shall be parents, and at least half shall be persons from minority groups."

Thus, Congress recognized the need to instruct school districts to do what many of the successfully desegregating districts did on their own: Involve the black, Chicano or Oriental communities, and involve them early in the formative process of a plan, not merely at the point when community acceptance is sought for a previously formulated plan of action.

Congress' position is meant to break a long-standing tradition of ignoring minority groups in school policy matters. To illustrate: even in the late 1960s, majority black school districts in the "black belt" of the South were run by all-white school boards and desegregation was stoutly resisted, as speeches of HEW civil rights officials in 1968 and 1969 indicate. In the North, the Newark, N.J., school district, serving a school population which was 82% black, 11% Puerto Rican descent

and 7% white in 1969, had seven white school board members but only two black and no Puerto Rican board members. With the election of a black mayor in 1970, however, the appointive school posts changed to a ratio of three whites, five blacks and one Puerto Rican.

Some of the more integrationist-minded states are encouraging the involvement of minorities at every level in local planning. Homer C. Floyd, executive director of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, told the Mondale committee how that state agency operates:

> As part of the (desegregation) plan, we have insisted that the employment aspect be dealt with, that the school board commit itself and its administrator to seeking out qualified persons of minority groups to bring them into the school system so that they can begin to share in the process.
>
> At the board level, since board members are elected, that is far more difficult to do. Under the employment aspect of our law, we can require the recruitment of nonwhites in employment positions, but it's far more difficult to deal with at the board level because they are elected from the community. At every opportunity in working with local communities [we] point out the fact that as opportunities occur . . . mayors and city council can appoint board members or the board itself can appoint board members when there is an unexpired vacancy.

One factor cited in the successful desegregation of Jackson, Miss., schools in 1971-72 was that the new mayor, Russell Davis, encouraged the other members of the city council to appoint a woman and a black to the school board. The black member was the first non-white to sit on the board since Reconstruction.

How Much Involvement?

While an increasing number of minority members are being elected and appointed to boards of education, the usual form of participation by blacks, Spanish-speaking, Orientals and Indians is on "advisory committees." Sometimes the minority is only part of a committee, sometimes it is the committee, delegated to advise on desegregation from the minority community point of view, sometimes to draft a desegregation plan in its entirety for board consideration.

Means of involving the minority community vary from district to district, but **Seattle, Wash.**, School District No. 1, which began a three-stage desegregation plan in September 1972, may have developed the most democratic way – by elections.

Alfred E. Cowles, president of the Seattle Board of Education, explained in an interview how the district involved many grass-roots community representatives, among which the blacks were only one faction, but a key one.

"You just cannot desegregate without involving the minorities," says Cowles, a black board member, "and you have to do it before you plan and decide and come up with a finished program."

Seattle had approximately 76,000 students in 1971, of which only 13.6% were black and 7.8% other minorities. Of the black population in the city, 80% lived in one ghetto area.

Seattle was divided into 12 areas, with an advisory council of 16 members in each area. The members were elected, not selected. "The funny thing is, we have such a small proportion of blacks that even though we are concentrated in the Central Area Council territory, we are a 40%-60% minority," Cowles observes. Still, the Central Area Council included eight blacks, six whites and two Orientals – a multiracial, minority-dominated advisory group. Because it was minority-dominated, and because the central area would be "heavily involved" in any plan, the council received special consideration among the 12 similar councils, Cowles says. The board invited all the councils to submit desegregation plans and then took what it felt to be the best elements of each. As a result, each district school was to have 15% to 25% black enrollment when the plan was completely implemented. But the Central Area Council insisted that each desegregated school should be 25% black, which would mean that some white schools would not desegregate at all, considering that the black population would not go around as far. The advisory council won out.

"Then over the next year or so attitudes in the black community changed and the community control group grew stronger," says Cowles. The Central Area Council insisted on nothing less than 50-50 racial composition in the desegregated schools, even though that would lessen still further the number of white schools which would participate in the plan. The board, Cowles says, rejected that demand. "That is unresolved and it is not

likely to be resolved and it leaves some hard feelings, but sometimes you just have to make a decision and stick to it after taking in all the views," said the black board president.

One of the reasons Cowles feels obliged to stick to the original plan is because it has survived a legal test in the Washington State Supreme Court against a group called Citizens Against Mandatory Busing, a white parents' organization. And, he feels that the views of the black community are largely reflected in the plan, in such matters as faculty desegregation and curriculum changes. "It is much more than moving bodies the way we went about it," Cowles says.

Involvement with Care and Awareness

As educators and laymen talk about involving the minority community – especially the black community – they stress several themes:

- Awareness of the diversity of the community.
- Awareness of the changing views of many minorities.
- Care in the selection of minority "representatives" or "leaders" as spokesmen for any community.
- Recognition that participation may mean friction and conflict.

"There is flatly no such thing as a monolithic black community," said Jesse L. Jacob, one of the five black board members of the Newark, N.J., Public Schools. For him, an 82% black school enrollment reflects a community which in theory should be able to exercise its will, but which took until 1970 to elect a black mayor.

"When you are talking about education, you don't go to the political leader to find out who the community respects on education matters," said Jacob. "You have to do your homework, and you have to do it yourself. You go into the churches and you ask who they listen to in the community about education, you go into the supermarket and ask, and if you have to, you go into the barbershop and the tavern." Jacob takes it for granted that the school board and administration will seek out minority group PTA leaders and will go into predominantly minority schools themselves to find out who leads them in educational matters. Jacob says specifically that he does not consider Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly named LeRoi Jones, the black author), a new political force in Newark, to be someone he as a board member turns to for educational leadership, because he feels the people do not see him as one.

Richard B. Anliot, director of the division of education of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, testifying before the Mondale committee, described what he saw as the current attitude of the black community toward desegregation:

'Plantation Picnics' Bite the Dust

An article in a Sunday supplement on desegregation in Houston, Tex., newspapers explained the old dual school system, with anecdotes like one from William Holland, a black principal of a then-black high school. He told of a request from the board of education to have the black choral group perform at an "old-fashioned plantation picnic."

All the board members were going to arrive in stagecoaches pulled by six white horses. They told me they wanted the girls in our choral group to wear red bandanas around their heads and have their hair in little plaits like 'pickaninnies' and slaves. I told them no, we didn't sing for anybody like that. They told me it was an honor for us to sing at the picnic and I told them I didn't care, we weren't slaves.

The article continued: "Such slights became the accumulated experience of generations of black students under the dual system. Aside from the inferiority of their facilities and the lower pay of their staff, such episodes instilled the feeling that separate facilities were not equal, but inferior."

> Up until now, I think it is accurate to say, the black community was pressing for desegregation, but celebrating its achievement unconditionally. That is changed. Now the black community is saying that desegregation is acceptable as far as they are concerned only if it meets other conditions. And these stipulations are understandable, fair and just because black parents, no more than white parents, want their pupils reassigned to a school farther from home, whether by bus ride or otherwise.

Anliot's list of conditions required by blacks to get involved in a desegregation plan are echoed by individual school superintendents and by black groups themselves:

- The staff must be integrated where blacks attend school.
- The burden of being bused must fall on whites as well as on blacks.
- White staff and black must be trained to handle biracial classes and to deal with disadvantaged students.
- Curriculum must be revised to include minority group history.

Civil Rights: Mostly a Local Activity

Any school board wrestling with desegregation should consider one aspect of the black community which seems to be increasingly consistent: civil rights activity is carried on in a local, not a national context. And individual community responses are stronger than any single ideology, be it integrationist or separatist.

John R. Lewis, former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has said his former organization is dead, while CORE is less strong, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is foundering, leaving only the NAACP and the Urban League with varying degrees of success across the country. "But if you travel through the South you will see local organizations and local leaders very much involved in the civil rights movement."

One-Way Desegregation — With What Results?

Mrs. Gertrude Wilks, from East Palo Alto, Calif., an integrationist in 1965, demonstrates how disillusion with a one-way desegregation process can alienate the black community from that goal. She told the Mondale committee why she decided to begin a separate black school, Nairobi High School, in 1966:

> I wondered what I was doing to those children, and it was at a time when I knew a change had to come, because I could see psychologically what it was doing for those youngsters. They had to give up everything; they had to go into hostile communities, begging for something I felt was rightfully theirs.

Mrs. Wilks told the Mondale committee's only black senator, self-proclaimed "integrationist" Edward Brooke, R-Mass., of the weakness of "advisory groups." She said she thought the only way to strengthen the advisory committee's role was to give them decision-making power.

In addition, Mrs. Wilks said:

> I think if we are going to talk about integration, we ought to talk about integrating the board of education, integrating the school board. . . . Until we do that, I think it is unfair (to bus) just because we might have the power to ship a bus load of white kids some place. Our school board right now is a hundred and a half percent white. We cannot elect a black school board member to our board. They say we are going to bus the kids, and that is going to solve the problem. It ain't necessarily so.

Sen. Brooke was forced to agree with her logic in establishing Nairobi school: "I have no objection to that. I am an integrationist. I have nothing objectionable to what you said if you get it together. We (integrationists) might come along in the interim period, but what you are saying is, we are going to improve the quality of education in our schools and you are going to give these children the psychological stimulus they need. I agree with you."

Mrs. Wilks personifies, in a way, the opposition to desegregation which can develop in the black community if it is not only "involved," but given

some sense of helping to control its own destiny. Thus, Russell Kent, superintendent of the San Mateo, Calif., Unified School District, of which East Palo Alto is a part, said the separate black school movement developed since 1965 "has now become one of the major obstacles to achieving desegregation in our area." He said that a new desegregation plan – stimulated in great measure by pressure from HEW – "is causing probably stronger opposition in the black community than it is in the white community."

While it applies to nonminority segments of a school district as well as to minorities, this comment from the Mondale committee report stresses the need to involve minorities and conduct open hearings:

> Involving the total community in planning for desegregation is not an easy task for school officials, and it may appear to be an inefficient approach to decision making. But the effort is worthwhile. By assuring that all segments of the community are fully involved in the development of the plan, resistance can be minimized and public support, which is essential to the success of any desegregation program, can be significantly increased. And the plan itself may be made more responsive to the community's needs.

Rule 7: Involve the 'Uninterested' and 'Opposed'

To a busy school administrator trying to make desegregation work, it must seem to be enough to try to involve friendly forces and the necessary elements of his school system and the community, without trying to involve as well the apathetic or outright opponents of desegregation. Yet several desegregating or desegregated school districts can prove that such extra effort pays big dividends in community support for desegregated education.

While the modern minority community can cause problems for a desegregation plan, it has been more often the white majority that has voted to maintain segregated schools – by their choice of school board members, and by the formation of such groups as NAG in Pontiac, Mich. The question is whether it is a waste of time to try to involve recalcitrant white parents in a desegregation project. The PTA president from Pontiac testified before a House subcommittee that it was not a waste, that such people ultimately switched from opposition or approval of busing per se to a "let's-make-the-schools-work attitude."

In Berkeley, Calif., generally thought to be a voluntary desegregation success story, meetings with white parents ranked high on the agenda of preparatory moves made by citizen advocates and the administration of Neil Sullivan.

Mrs. Louise Stoll, a white parent, told the Mondale committee: there were "a large number of myths that we had to dispel," including one on the evils of busing and another that it would be harder for white children to get into college if they went to a black school.

Mrs. Amanda Williams, a black representative of Berkeley's "Community Forum" and a mother of four Berkeley students, emphasized the importance of meetings, too, but spoke more strongly of "this hereditary fear that is the root of today's climate, parental fear – which is a real fear. . . . White parents have fears that their children will be physically assaulted or that their learning will be downgraded. Black parents are concerned about their children being bused across town and what would happen in the event a child becomes ill and needs to come home, the kind of humiliation he might receive having gone into a foreign neighborhood."

Mrs. Williams discussed the attempts to meet those real fears:

> We had house meetings with parents coming together, and counselors were hired in the school district at the elementary and intermediate schools, which proved helpful in all instant feedback to parents' problems and concerns. The superintendent and his team of school administrators went into homes to listen and offer solutions to problems. . . . There is something to be learned in Berkeley. The Berkeley experience is a multiple achievement, in which the parents whose children are bused have played a key role.

Politics: A Big Consideration

Interestingly, the Berkeley experience encouraged a neighboring community, and its school system, the Richmond, Calif., Unified School District, to try desegregation, too. But it has been held up by a Richmond resident and sociologist, Lillian B. Rubin, as an example of ignoring and finally alienating, rather than enlisting, the resistant white community, in her 1972 book, *Busing*

and Backlash, White Against White in an Urban School District. In the conclusion of her two-year study, she writes, "The thrust of my argument here is that America's so-called silent majority has been left out of the political process far too long and that, in part, their present anger is a response to that political fact."

The communications gulf between the pro-integration "liberals" and the anti-integration "conservatives" in Richmond was so deep, she wrote, that in her 50 interviews with leaders from each camp, "there was no point at which the responses merged or even came close together," on matters of educational philosophy. When the question of integration came up in 1965, the liberally oriented school board made its first mistake, she said, because it appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee on De Facto Segregation. "The board had tried to provide a balance of race, sex and geographical distribution," the sociologist wrote. But no serious attempt was made to balance the committee politically – "a fact that the conservative anti-integrationists played up very successfully in their attempts to mobilize the community," she added.

One white "conservative" said he was "shaken up" by the appointment of the committee, while a liberal board member conceded that "we took our resolution to mean that we meant to deal with desegregating the schools, so there was no point in appointing those who opposed integration." One other board member said that the board did not want to discuss the "if" of desegregation, only the "how," and that they hoped that "the force of law" and the "authority of the courts" would compel opponents to go along, even if it was with "strong regrets."

"Unfortunately," Miss Rubin said, "they failed to comprehend that this issue had evoked unusually strong feelings that would not be quieted through the traditional political mechanisms." Soon after, a Citizens Committee for Neighborhood Schools was formed and the anti-desegregation movement grew quickly. In all, Lillian Rubin concludes that the unwillingness to involve the "conservatives," along with the liberal board's hesitancy over when and how to proceed with desegregation, doomed the attempt to failure and the board to defeat at the polls. As for the success and strength of the conservatives:

> It would seem that the major strength of the conservative drive probably lay in the fact that for too long the definition of the public good had been made by a small, relatively self-contained elite – a definition that too frequently accorded with their own self interest and largely left the working class and lower-middle class out.

Changing Resistance to Participation

The evolution from white resistance to white participation in Jackson, Miss., was described in the March 1972 issue of *Inequality in Education.* The author, Patricia M. Derian, is active in the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. She describes herself as "one white mother" of three children who is telling how whites overcame the fact that "most white parents, raised on the myths of black indolence, ignorance and immorality, fear school desegregation on a basic, if sometimes unconscious, gut-level."

Mrs. Derian follows the process through three stages:

- In the early sixties, "small groups of white-gloved, middle-class women were trying to allay these fears through 'respectable,' low-key, nonthreatening organizations." They held coffees, talked to other mothers, spoke in small public meetings and bought television spots and some billboards. That was during the days of minimal desegregation. When real desegregation threatened in 1969, many of these women thought that they had reached their limit, that massive desegregation was too much.

- "A new coalition of 'respectables' waited in the wings. It included recently arrived Yankee parents; stunned chamber of commerce types who knew that no new business would come to a place without public schools; the morally upright whose religions finally declared that racism was a wicked sin; and some outright integrationists. This coalition had its limits, too: It was all-white, and an abortive effort to have a biracial parent group failed because white parents' worries differed from black parents' concerns. Nor did it include poor whites; it was entirely middle class, chiefly from one geographic location."

- When desegregation finally came, some of the poor whites had no choice but to begin integrating and that brought the most involvement of those who had stood on the sidelines:

"At this point the middle-class parents, organized to meet their own needs, began to have a communitywide impact. Parents popped up in all the schools, tutoring, helping in a thousand ways, adding to the white faces, watching with as much good will as they could muster. They manned telephone rumor centers and tracked down every hysterical story of bombings, rapes and knifings that had not taken place. They spoke to civic clubs, advertised and visited other white parents door to door so that their children would not remain a small minority."

"If Jackson's experience is any example," concludes Mrs. Derian, "white fears will gradually diminish in the face of cumulative evidence that black and white boys and girls attend school together every day, safely."

Rule 8: Listen to Students

"We have heard this story many, many times. I think, if you left the issue of integration to the young people of this country, they would have it over with in no time at all. They are the ones who are integrating and every poll I have seen indicates that the young people want it, and, where they try it on any kind of fair basis, it works." The speaker was Sen. Mondale, probably the single member of Congress who has listened to more testimony on the subject of school desegregation than any other. He addressed his words to a 19-year-old white youth who had just graduated from high school in Greenville, S.C., and who had made the point that not only were most white students satisfied with desegregation, but "I would also say that many of the white students were challenged by it. It brought a new spirit to the school. It made everybody want to work together to make the system work."

At the same session of Senate hearings, however, a black student from Greenville who entered a white high school under a "freedom of choice" plan and stayed for two years, stressed how hard it was for black students to "relate in activities such as student council government, elected offices and all, because the administration is the power structure of all activity."

Views: Of a Civil Rights Veteran, Students, a Superintendent

Ruby Martin, former director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights and a civil rights veteran who brought students to Washington, D.C., to appear

Fears Arise on Both Sides

Neil Sullivan, in his book, *Now Is the Time,* described walking into a pre-desegregation meeting sponsored by the Berkeley board of education.

Sullivan describes some of the exchanges, in which he says he saw some white resistance weakened:

> The whites did not hide their fear that the achievement of their children, many of them gifted, would be downgraded or diluted by what they considered – and what *was* on the average – the lower academic standard of the Negro pupils. Speakers countered with reports of research showing that desegregation does not lower the achievement of white children while it raises the achievement level of Negro children. "Oh, research!" one white parent muttered. "You can prove anything with research."
>
> Then one Negro mother stood up. "I see what it is – you're afraid of Negro kids!" she declared. "Why? We have something to offer you but you've always turned us down. What if *our* children should slip back in their studies by coming up here? Did you ever think of that?
>
> That statement got loud applause from many Negroes and from some startled Caucasians. Could it be that Negroes *too* worried about scholarship? The ironic nature of that meeting would have been funny had it not been so painful. . . .

before the Mondale committee, shared her views on what good use of federal money for desegregation would be:

> It is very clear to me that a substantial amount of that money should be going to private, nonprofit groups. It should be going to student groups, and not to the traditional kind of teacher-training programs that so much federal money has gone into . . . which really has not dealt with the problems that these students face.

One black student from Columbia, S.C., the student coordinator for the Southern Regional Council's school desegregation project, took administrators to task in an article he wrote for *New South:*

> School officials must come to grips with the problem. They must not dodge the basic issue – race. Many school officials feel that if no one talks about integration, then everything will work itself out. Why don't they ask the students? Surely they will ask the "straight A" student what he thinks, but that is understandable. For years these were the only students who had had any type of communications with the administration. Now school officials must begin talking to those students who are truly interested in the racial situation. But at many schools these students have been labeled "radicals" and "troublemakers."

The student, Richard Gergel, took a student poll during the first year of desegregation, with the help of a U. of South Carolina sociology major.

> If school officials would begin to listen they would find much helpful information. The administration would know that a majority of the students (64% black and 54% white) are in favor of integration and want more interracial activities. . . .

Gergel suggested student initiatives if adult institutions cannot or will not solicit and respond to student views. He reported that black and white students in Beaufort, S.C., jointly published an underground newspaper, "The Daily Planet," which campaigned for, and won, a new student government "which will relate to all the students."

At Chapel Hill, N.C., the potential for "human relations problems" between students was perceived and something was done about it, says Supt. Wilmer S. Cody.

He told the Mondale committee that a race council of students was formed. Over 150 black and white students participated in regular discussions on problems of desegregation and, through these, they gained much understanding and respect for one another, the superintendent said. "Our high school has not been free of disruptions and demonstrations. It is significant, however, that the few protests we had were aimed at school policies and programs and were not based on friction between students," Cody said.

Cody admitted that student grievance procedures were "inadequate," particularly in junior and senior high schools, at the beginning. But he added, "One of our most important objectives" will be to convince students that rational procedures for resolving conflict and for achieving justice are available and can work.

Perhaps the most dramatic story of student involvement comes from a group of seventh graders in Pontiac, Mich. Following the motto "Let's Make It Work," the group went from school to school with songs, skits and a recurring message: that students would tolerate, even welcome, busing – although some of their parents did not. The group not only helped ease tensions in Pontiac itself, but became a national object lesson in youth leadership in an area where some adults feared to tread.

Rule 9: Involve Business and Labor, If Possible

Along with the need to find a role for fearful white parents is the opportunity in the 1970s to involve the business community in a desegregation plan. However, both the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Assn. of Manufacturers, when queried at their Washington, D.C., headquarters in mid-1972, said they had no business making policy statements on school desegregation. And the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., says it found in a March 1972 poll that 86% of 157,500 responses from its members favored a Constitutional amendment against busing, 9% were opposed and 5% were undecided. The figures are significant, for more than half of the membership responded to the survey – the highest response rate to a poll in the federation's history.

But the fact is, both local and state chambers of commerce are getting involved, and so are numerous independent businessmen. Sometimes their

involvement is patent self-interest, reflected in the fear that public education will be harmed if desegregation is resisted too strongly, and that new business will not be attracted to a community with a school crisis. Sometimes they work to preserve "law and order" when a controversial plan goes into effect. Sometimes they merely lend their names as business leaders to desegregation advisory committees. Increasingly they are getting involved, as they find the problem will not go away by ignoring it. Sometimes the chamber of commerce moves into a leadership vacuum left by frightened politicians, a recalcitrant school board or a troubled superintendent.

Hartford, Conn., provides an example of how extensive business participation can occur. The local chamber of commerce, backed heavily by the insurance industry, helped to create a positive climate for the city-suburban voluntary busing plan known as Project Concern. The project, stimulated by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 and begun with the busing of only 300 inner-city children to surrounding suburbs, has grown in Connecticut so that by 1972 some 3,000 students in four cities – Hartford, Bridgeport, New Haven and Waterbury – participate with surrounding communities.

According to William J. Sanders, 1972 president of the Council of Chief State School Officers and the Connecticut state commissioner of education, one of the driving organizing forces behind the entire idea was a man who was president of the Hartford metropolitan chamber at the time, and also president of Travelers Insurance Corp. and a member of the State Board of Education.

"The officers and the secretary of the chamber would use their influence. For example, when they noticed someone in a suburb was voting against the plan they would ask 'Who does this guy work for?' And then they would twist arms," says Sanders. "These were enlightened businessmen who knew that they lived in the suburbs but they worked in Hartford and that Hartford was the source of their livelihood. One hand washes the other."

Sanders says he sees more businessmen getting involved as political figures flee controversy. "Politicians respond to the fears; the businessmen get things off dead center because they see long-range self-interest in integration and better education." He says Hartford was a "shoo-in" for educational renewal funds from the federal government in part because of the kind of local support for such programs guaranteed by the business community.

Jackson, Miss., had actively resisted desegregation in courts for seven years when it partially desegregated in the 1971-72 school year. Then it adopted an extensive busing plan as part of a consent decree between black parents and the school board, and the business community got a good deal of credit for the acceptance and promotion of desegregation. "The chamber of commerce organized the Jackson Education Task Force to support the desegregation plan and provide assistance in mobilizing community leaders behind the efforts of the school system," report monitors from the six civil rights groups in *It's Not Over in the South.*

The turning point came in January of 1970, when Allis-Chalmers, Inc., the equipment manufacturer from Wisconsin, sent engineers and executives to Jackson to discuss moving business down to Jackson. The reason given for the final decision not to move was the instability and general educational problems in the public schools there. The chamber stopped seeking new industry while the state research and development center warned that Jackson's economy would be seriously hurt if it didn't do something about the schools.

After the Supreme Court's decision in the *Swann* case permitted extensive busing where needed to desegregate schools, a détente was reached with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and a busing plan was agreed to, with businessmen clearly in the forefront. The task force was headed by a banker, and included a vice president of the telephone company and an insurance man. Full-page newspaper ads picturing white and black children together were captioned, "We are sticking with our public schools to help make them the best in the nation."

The involvement of other chambers of commerce in the South was described in the *It's Not Over* report:

- The St. Petersburg, Fla., Chamber of Commerce's Community Alliance Committee was involved in commenting on the staff-developed desegregation plans there before they were submitted to the school board.

- The Greensboro, N.C., Chamber of Commerce organized a similar group called Concerned Citizens for Schools.

- Chamber of commerce organizations in other cities such as Little Rock, Ark.; Columbia, S.C.; Nashville, Tenn.; and elsewhere endorsed

the desegregation plans of the respective cities, by supporting public education or merely calling for "calm."

Businessmen played leading roles in biracial "educational advisory" committees set up in 1970 across the South to help smooth the way for a sharp increase in desegregation. The chairman of the apolitical South Carolina Educational Advisory Committee during the 1970 and 1971 school openings was Robert S. Davis, who is white and the president of a Columbia, S.C., printing and office supply firm. In 1970, Davis convinced Southern Bell Telephone Co. executives to write employes explaining desegregation and urging support of public education. TV tape clips of black and white children playing happily together were relayed by highway patrol cars to 11 TV stations across the state before school started. The statewide atmosphere of acceptance helped in 1971, when Columbia, S.C., schools were desegregated. "It's a question of leadership, both black and white," says Davis.

In Louisiana, an on-going nonprofit organization with 4,000 supporters, called the Public Affairs Research Council, Inc. (PAR), formed the nucleus in 1970 for a massive statewide Seminar on School Desegregation. The year before, PAR had published a 129-page study on *Improving Quality During School Desegregation.*

When PAR held the seminar in 1970 in Baton Rouge, it involved the Council for a Better Louisiana, the Louisiana AFL-CIO, the Louisiana Manufacturers Assn., and the Louisiana State Chamber of Commerce. Much of the speech material dealt with the need to save public schools and most of it seemed to be addressed to businessmen. Speakers ranged from a U.S. district court judge to the superintendent of Ouachita Parish Schools to federal enforcement officials, including one from the U.S. Justice Dept. who told businessmen to tell local law enforcement officials when schools open "that you want order and you want any dispute about what's occurring to be decided by reasoned discussion – if necessary, even in the courts."

The seminar was followed in subsequent days and weeks by a new emergence of positive political support for desegregation. The day after the seminar, for example, the state Republican Party issued a strong statement in support of public education. The next day, all four of Louisiana's Catholic bishops called for support of public education. At the very least such statements were intended to stem flight to segregated private schools by whites during court-order desegregation.

Organized Labor's Involvement

Organized labor also gets involved, but at different levels in different places. Thus, in Pontiac, Mich., when many United Auto Workers (UAW) members picketed or honored pickets at General Motors Corp. plants to show their sympathy with NAG and their opposition to busing during the 1971 school opening, UAW leadership in Detroit issued directives to prevent UAW locals from helping to finance the antibusing group, NAG, and to keep NAG from involving UAW members. Neither of the statements, one by UAW president Leonard Woodcock, and the other by regional director Ken Morris, referred to the rightness or wrongness of busing. Both concentrated instead on contractual relationships:

> **Woodcock**: It would be intolerable if a local could finance, directly or indirectly, the activities of an organization (NAG) which attempts to interfere with the collective bargaining obligations of the union and the employment of our members, and cause the loss of income to UAW families.

> **Morris**: No outside group, whether NAG or any other outside group, has the legal right or authority to ask UAW members to violate the contract which exists between General Motors and the workers at Fisher Body (GM) . . . . We call upon members of the UAW who work at Fisher Body to ignore the demonstrations and go to work on Tuesday, Sept. 14 . . . . Regardless of community issues or controversies, there exists a legal contractual agreement between the workers at Fisher Body and the General Motors Corp.

And, while many AFL-CIO-affiliated locals stay out of the busing issue in their towns and while many individual members oppose busing, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the top leadership body of that union amalgam, adopted a statement in February 1972 which said: "The AFL-CIO has consistently supported both quality education and integrated education." It added:

- We wholeheartedly support busing of children when it will improve the educational opportunities of the children.

- We deplore the actions of those individuals or groups who are creating a divisive political issue out of America's vital need for quality, integrated education.

- We will oppose the Constitutional amendment approach because it will do a disservice to the quality, integrated education which we support.

Rule 10: Locate and Enlist the Natural Ally

Finding an ally to help rally public support seems like a natural thing to do. But some school administrators and board members hesitate about recruiting pro-integration organizations for fear it will polarize community opinion. A member of the Detroit, Mich., school board complained of the League of Women Voters, for example. He said "They're too liberal. Nobody is going to listen to them, and they don't listen to the conservatives."

However, some school boards and superintendents do work with groups which promote desegregation and report good results. Sometimes, such groups impose themselves on the debate without invitation.

Civil rights groups like the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the NAACP and Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Funds, have particular interest in desegregated education, and in the case of the Legal Defense Funds, often sue school districts to obtain that goal. The National Urban League in many large Northern cities, and groups like the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council in Southern states, are active sources of both support and information from the minority community. A list of contact persons and organizations appears on page 95.

The Role of the Media

In the category of logical allies for school board members and superintendents who must desegregate or who wish to desegregate, the mass media, including the press, television and radio, are perhaps the most important in many ways. No League of Women Voters' statement, no public meetings, no building of public consciousness of what desegregation is all about, would be possible without the media to communicate it all.

Ideally, newspaper, radio and television reporters would maintain an active and constant interest in every aspect of their community's schools, including desegregation. And ideally for school boards trying to desegregate, editorial writers and

Put Yourself in Students' Places

When students speak out, they often complain of things that may seem trivial to adults, but which have overwhelming meaning – sometimes symbolic, but still important – to students themselves. For black students, finding a place in the student government or on the cheerleading squad is as important as finding a place in the classroom. The phenomenon is discussed by Frank A. Petroni, Ernest A. Hirsch and C. Lillian Petroni in their book, *Two, Four, Six, Eight, When You Gonna Integrate?,* recording student attitudes in an unnamed high school disguised as Plains High School:

Some adults may also ask, why is so much emphasis given to a project of such secondary importance as the election of a black cheerleader? While few adults consider the election of black cheerleaders, or black class officers, or the desire for an open lunch hour to be mainly civil rights issues, we nevertheless feel that the issue of a black cheerleader, for example, is relevant for the situation in which these black students find themselves.... When the black students at Plains High attend a basketball game, the contrast they experience as they watch five black athletes on the court, while seven white girls lead the cheering on the sidelines, is a constant reminder of white prejudice and white exploitation.

commentators would see the value of equal educational opportunity, and would applaud efforts to achieve it. That these ideal conditions do not exist is obvious. But some of the media have gained attention in the 1970s for their role. The six civil rights groups mention several in *It's Not Over in the South:*

> Among the newspapers mentioned (by monitors) was the *Arkansas Gazette* in Little Rock, Ark., which has been supportive of desegregation efforts for more than a decade.
>
> The Florence, S.C., *Morning News* provided excellent coverage of school programs and curriculum innovations and featured several level-headed articles from the viewpoint of drivers, students and school officials on how busing was actually working in the district. The *St. Petersburg Times* consistently featured editorials which were very positive in supporting the district's desegregation efforts. At its own expense the paper printed a comprehensive section called "Pinellas School Zone Guide" (St. Petersburg is in Pinellas County). One of the appointees to the district's biracial committee characterized the *Times* as "fabulous." The *Charlotte Observer* has also provided leadership in covering that district's tortuous route through the courts, in treating the district's problems and potential in a balanced and thorough manner, and in calling for the district to fulfill its constitutional obligations.

For the public to be able to read or hear informational and/or supportive material on desegregation, the school district must at least cooperate by permitting access to teachers and administrators and even the children themselves. Usually, even more is required. A school district often puts a public information officer to work developing public relations plans and materials as one of the first steps in trying to rally community support for a plan.

In Volume II of the U.S. Office of Education-funded booklet, *Planning Educational Change: Human Resources in School Desegregation,* the authors state:

> The local press and radio station are institutions where interests may or may not be partisan, but with which it is important to develop good relations, communication and trust. The way in which news media cover or do not cover stories, and stress or do not stress particular events, has enormous impact upon community perceptions of desegregation.
>
> Few superintendents can "control" the news, but many can so involve the press in desegregation planning that they have full information about the system's intentions and designs.

There is no substitute for rapport with the media – enough rapport to be able to walk into a city room or an editor's office and feel welcome. Mrs. Marian R. Van Landingham, supervisor of public information in the Mobile County, Ala., system when that district implemented a court-ordered busing plan during the 1971-72 school year, said that such rapport "helped a lot," in getting the school district's thinking across to the public.

"I was on a first-name basis with most of the media people. I went in and talked with them a lot and I kept them well informed," Mrs. Van Landingham said. Her office also published a two-page information document, "Facts About Busing in Mobile County," which was a basic reference source for the news media during the time that the new desegregation plan was being implemented.

Mrs. Van Landingham places great store by the information sheets, which she cited in a 1972 National School Public Relations Assn. (NSPRA) seminar as one factor in the relatively smooth beginning of desegregation busing in Mobile.

Chapter 3

Womanpower at Work: The League of Women Voters

While many organizations can be pressed into service – or even press themselves into service out of their own convictions or zeal – the one group which consistently appears in an active role across the country, North and South, is the League of Women Voters. In Washington, D.C., its leadership testifies against antibusing provisions and for civil rights law. At the state and local level, it puts both its prestige and its organization on the line to assist in community desegregation preparation and implementation. Men get involved, too. "What nobody realizes is that a lot of husbands of league members do things in their roles as engineers, lawyers and even educators to help out," reported a staff member in the Washington office.

A number of individual leagues which have been especially active were contacted for this report. Some of the leagues submitted material to the Mondale committee which never appeared in the record. Others had filed brief descriptions of their activities with the national league, and still more were mentioned by civil rights groups' monitors. Their involvement varies from working on court-ordered desegregation plans to influencing community attitudes to unsuccessful attempts to promote integration in a resistant community.

The Nashville, Tenn., League of Women Voters saw six of its members participate in drawing up a federal court-ordered desegregation plan in 1970. Similarly, in 1971, the Human Resources Committee of the Tulsa, Okla., league spent a summer researching and evaluating school integration in Tulsa and other cities across the country. It then developed a plan for court adoption based "on the concept of communitywide sharing of advantages and inconveniences of integration." The concept received "good publicity" and the endorsement of community groups and leaders, league officials say. In Los Angeles, Calif., the league signed the *amicus curiae* brief on behalf of desegregation in a Superior Court case.

Many League of Women Voters chapters join hands with other organizations:

- In Santa Monica, Calif., the league and the American Assn. of University Women worked to form a Citizens School Advisory Group on Ethnic Balance – although, as local league members say, "the group is tightly controlled by the school district."

- The Buffalo, N.Y., league cosponsored a meeting with leagues in Erie and Niagara Falls and with the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce to discuss finance and integration. Some 480 people registered for the forum.

- The Mobile, Ala., league worked with a citizens' organization which became federally funded, known as the ACT Educational Program, and undertook to conduct a biracial workshop with the title, "Make It Work."

League Researches Integration

One of the league's traditions is extensive research, presumably conducted by housewives who want to put some of their free time to constructive community use.

- In Tiffin, Ohio, the league studied school integration in unit meetings and wrote a paper called "Approaches to School Integration."

- The Amarillo, Tex., league launched a study of the current desegregation plan and its background, HEW guidelines, what went into the desegregation decision, community attitudes and what was being done to prepare the community for integration. The Amarillo league conducted "numerous" interviews with groups, board members and the school superintendent; conducted three public meet-

ings; and studied alternate plans for desegregation.

- In Mount Clemens, Mich., league members studied integration in their city, then published a three-page study on the subject.

League Gets the Word Out

An already established organization like the league, with no overtones of religion, partisan politics or any particular racial makeup, can serve as a meeting forum for citizens, especially for women who might not go to school board meetings or to the affairs of other organizations.

- The Downriver League of Wayne County, Mich., Detroit's home county, focused all its human resources work on "cross district busing," and consequently had "the greatest number participating" in general membership meetings on that subject.

- In San Joaquin County, Calif., the league held a general meeting for all members of the community who cared about education, desegregation or "children in general." "The emphasis was on understanding our own feelings about desegregation of the school district," reports the league. Films on cultural differences were complemented by speakers expert in intergroup relations.

- In Richmond, Ind., the league worked to bring white parents to a human relations workshop for parents, teachers, administrators and students after a "serious racial problem at the high school."

League units around the country are great letter-, telegram- and position paper-writers, to judge by their own and others' testimony. The Atlanta, Ga., league was one of several groups which issued a statement in May 1971 urging the school board to use whatever methods were necessary, including busing, to desegregate the school system. In San Francisco, Calif., a league representative said it "helped communications, trying to present information calmly," including the dispatch of letters to the editor of the big daily newspapers and a letter to the board of education supporting a plan to desegregate junior high schools. The Las Vegas, Nev., league sponsored an eight installment publication called "Happenings," which discussed quality integrated education in Clark County Schools. Over 10,000 copies of "Happenings" were produced and distributed by the league to both the school and community.

The Midland, Tex., league fired off a telegram to the federal court opposing a school board desegregation plan, and added that they preferred one of two alternate plans offered by the Negro community and the rural community; it was hardly supportive of the board, and the league itself reports that "media coverage was quite extensive, much response both positive and negative."

Case History Shows Success and Limitations

Case histories of league involvement indicate both the successes and limitations of a group like the league. In theory, any organizations in a community could play similar roles.

In **San Bernardino, Calif.**, minority group agitation for desegregation reached a peak in 1965, and resulted in some pressures from both state and

'Listen to Conservatives'

Certainly, the League of Women Voters is not universally acceptable to every segment of the community. A member of the Detroit, Mich., board of education calls it "just one more liberal outfit," and dismisses it as too far to the left to be a binding force in Detroit, with its multi-district court case. He was speaking in the corridors after a conference in Washington, D.C., about big-city school problems; his solution was to get each of Detroit's suburbs to take minorities up to 10% of their school enrollment, but he did not think the league could help in that effort. "You have to get the conservatives involved, and listen to them," he says.

federal authorities to begin some kind of equalization of educational opportunities for the white, black and Mexican American children there. By September 1967, the board announced a desegregation policy and initial plan, following a citizens advisory committee report. During 1967 and 1968, the San Bernardino League of Women Voters sent no fewer than 13 written messages to the school board, all of them praising the board for its stand, frequently commending particular actions, but finally asking for more than the "freedom of choice" voluntary desegregation approved by the board.

An appraisal of that communique by a league official notes that one question, intended to press faster elementary desegregation, "was always sidestepped by the administration and seemed to point to a fear of community reaction to any plan which would involve disruption of the 'neighborhood school' or busing." The league in this case was an ally to the school board in the sense that it offset the opponents to desegregation. It made certain an observer was at every board meeting; backed up the board in its human relations program; pushed for a minority appointment to a board vacancy; reacted vigorously to the news that only 3% of eligible minority students participated in voluntary desegregation the first year, and only 6.4% in the second; and generally maintained pro-integration pressure on both the board and the community.

The league sponsored a symposium on integration in November 1968 because it said more information on the advantages of desegregation was needed. A broad representative group of San Bernardinans was invited.

The same symposium gave the league a chance to renew its call for the appointment of a minority board member to fill a vacancy. And it succeeded.

About the same time, the San Bernardino league was cooperating with a California State League of Women Voters survey of racial imbalance in various districts, giving both fact and opinion to arm the state league in a fight for a state law to require desegregation of segregated districts.

Throughout 1969, 1970 and 1971, the league continued to push for "complete" desegregation; for more money to be spent in schools, particularly in the area of human relations counseling and training; and for the reconstruction of unsafe schools in minority areas. When the local newspaper, generally supportive of equal educational opportunity, did not appear to the league to be pushing hard enough in its editorials for the rebuilding of minority area schools in mid-1971, the league sent a "statement" to the editors with "additional information" reminding editors of earlier board promises to rebuild the schools. Four days after the first editorial, the league was rewarded with a stronger one in the same newspaper stating that "morally, the present board is obligated to rebuild those schools. . . ."

In 1971, antibusing groups in San Bernardino pushed for the revision of a new desegregation plan, with elimination of all references to busing. They also began a movement to recall the board of education. The league stood fast for the inclusion of transportation in the new desegregation plan, but it kept hands off the recall issue.

"Rightly or wrongly, it was felt at this time that for the league to take a role [on the recall issue] other than the role of individual members, would further polarize the community and add fuel to the fire," an official wrote. In 1972, the board numbered 10 blacks and three Mexican American women among its membership of 135.

In February and March 1972, the board of education dropped busing from its desegregation plan. The league president, at this point a black woman, tried to head off the board at its meeting with a statement recognizing that the board "has been subject to tremendous pressure by elements in the community who feel the constitutional guarantees of equal opportunity in education and court decisions . . . should be disregarded." She also urged the board not "to take an unrealistic backward step." In voting to drop busing, several board members took pains to say they were not against integration, just busing.

The league, then, was out in front of the board of education for almost five years. But the second of two school superintendents in that period, George Caldwell, seemed to share league views. When he presented his administration's desegregation plan, he prophetically observed:

> The board instructed us to bring back a plan that did not include the use of buses for the purpose of racially balancing schools. We have brought back a plan without busing except in voluntary programs. It would not appear to us that our plan as presented would fully meet the requirements of the law. In this uncertain time, however, I believe that it will move the district into a position in which we could react to either a court or state executive order to desegregate should one be handed down.

Within three months, a California State Superior Court judge had taken the board to task for appearing "almost schizoid" on the subject of

busing. Several weeks later he handed down an order that San Bernardino desegregate its schools so that each school reflect the total racial balance of the community within a tolerance of 15%, one way or the other; in other words, with San Bernardino enrollment roughly 37% minority, each school would have to be 22% to 52% minority enrollment. The case was decided on the basis of a new state racial balance law, rather than on federal legal interpretation of the Constitution, and thus appeared to escape the federal restrictions on busing enacted by Congress.

Advice from Two Leaguers

In a joint statement for this report, the San Bernardino league president, Mrs. Juanita Scott and the chairman of the league's education committee, Mrs. Sibyl Disch, agreed o share some lessons drawn from six years of involvement with school desegregation.

First, the league officers pleaded that certain conditions be met by federal and state officials, including at least 50% funding of any mandated local compliance programs, for long enough to measure the worth of the program; guidelines to tell what "acceptable" integration is; more flexibility in the use by local districts of funds allotted to them; less politics, more prominence for education in Washington; new sources of school support "to remove the power of property owners to pass or defeat local school financing at their whim"; and a stipend to permit a "greater variety of people" to be school board members.

"Given at least some of the above," the two league officials said, they would suggest the following to school superintendents and boards:

- Form, or advocate the independent formation of an on-going citizens committee, something along the lines of a grand jury. They would advise and react to programs, and serve as a catalyst with the community, as well as having direct access to the board of education.
- Hire a highly qualified, well paid public relations person to work with the district, telling its story and "selling" its plan.
- Draw more on the talent of classroom teachers. . . at the actual policy-making level.
- Come up with a complete integration plan involving economic as well as ethnic integration . . . setting definite deadlines for implementation.
- Once plans have been passed on by the groups involved and the board of education, present them forcefully and with pride to the community.
- Clearly show the program to be professionally arrived at, and leave no doubt that it *will* be implemented. Provide machinery for periodic review and revision if necessary.
- If it is not already too late, advise the superintendent of the folly of allowing opponents of integration to ferment trouble and get organized.
- Conduct a high-level leadership training program, conducted by professionals on the skillful handling of confrontation.

The two women conclude: "From our observations locally, it is evident that extending periods of so-called preparation over months and years does nothing to improve the climate of acceptance in the community. It fosters suspicion on the part of the minority groups as to final intentions, while giving the opponents of integration hope that by organizing and disrupting they can prevent real integration from taking place. In the meantime the schoolchildren become the pawns of the various pressure groups."

Teacher Push-Outs Continue

School administrators must make certain that new staffing patterns do not lead to racial discrimination in promotion or firing. This has happened quite often since 1954, according to two reports. One, from the National Education Assn., states that over 31,000 of its black, Southern teacher members and school administrators had lost their jobs since 1954 because of desegregation. That figure included jobs lost through failure to continue hiring Negroes at pre-1954 rates. The Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare also reported the demotion or dismissal of 4,207 black teachers and administrators during the 1972 school year in six Deep South states alone.

In their booklet, *It's Not Over in the South*, six civil rights organizations found a three-pronged problem:

- Teacher desegregation sometimes preceded pupil desegregation, stripping black students of adult models of their own race even in all-black schools.
- When teacher desegregation took place, there were "persistent complaints that well qualified and experienced black teachers were replaced in the teacher crossover by young, inexperienced white teachers."
- Even with good recruiting programs, the percentage of black teachers stayed level
- at best, and "few districts were found to have truly aggressive or innovative recruitment programs. . . . Some districts were found to be decreasing the number or percentage of black faculty."

Of course, these civil rights groups and others would agree that teacher desegregation problems are not confined to the South. It is the area, however, where the most desegregation has occurred and the most lessons exist.

Chapter 4

Implementing Desegregation

The creation and implementation of a desegregation plan are the nuts and bolts of desegregation. They force the superintendent and the board of education to look inward to their own resources, often supplemented with imported expertise. The board and superintendent must face up to the details which remained theory during public discussion and debate and even during the formulation of basic policy.

For this part of the desegregation process, professional advice abounds. Booklets, consultants, lawyers and even computer operators can help a school district follow through on its desegregation plan. Thus, this report will attempt only to trace the pattern which emerges from the experience of USOE (as reflected in the series of four booklets on "Planning Educational Change," written at the U. of Michigan's Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge) and the experiences of some desegregating or desegregated school districts, as reported in the Mondale hearings and at 1972 meetings of educational organizations.

To put theory into practice, several efforts must proceed at the same time. This seems obvious, but it must be recognized beforehand if a timetable is to be met. Four processes emerge in the planning and implementing phase. They must overlap in time – with each other and with the previously outlined campaign – to engage the community positively in desegregation.

I. A basic plan of action must be adopted, one which is educationally based and which has an appeal in terms of education as well as desegregation.

II. The administration and staff, from assistant superintendent to custodial employes, must be prepared for the changes which will be taking place.

III. Plans for physical change – the transferring of students, teachers and equipment, the raising and lowering of blackboards and the routing of buses where necessary – require painstaking effort; indeed, in the minds of much of the public this is perhaps all there is to desegregation. It is really only one of many facets, although probably the most technical and the most capable of responding to good administration.

IV. The need for feedback and evaluation and a further plan for continuity of desegregation are important.

I. Setting the Goals of Education

In planning desegregation, a large number of school superintendents and boards of education have seized the opportunity to make innovative moves in the overall educational structure of their community. Billed as an improvement in the quality of education, desegregation can not only improve learning but also will help to make the process itself more palatable to community and staff, say administrators and board members who have tried it.

Thus, to set as the only goal the "acceptable" or legally required ratio of minority students and whites in the district's schools is not enough and is deliberately short-ranged in the eyes of those who have tried to do more. Some examples illustrate what can be done.

A Plan For Positive Change

School District #111 in Kankakee, Ill., was ordered by HEW in 1969 to desegregats its schools or face possible cutoff of federal funds under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. "Instead of coming up with an 'integration plan' per se, we focused on providing a sound educational rationale for the changes we were contemplating," said Lee G. Grebner, superintendent of Kankakee schools. The district deliberately deemphasized the "integration factor." Schools were reorganized from 11

elementary buildings, two junior high schools and two senior high schools into a new arrangement which facilitated desegregation and left eight buildings with grades 1-3, two for grades 4 and 5, two more for grades 6-8, and three 4-year high schools. About half of the 7,680 students were bused for integration, and the first year went smoothly, administrators said.

"The staff in our primary centers saw immediate benefits to the new arrangement. They could now concentrate on the learning needs of a specific age group, with the total effort of the entire school focused in one area," [illegible] said. Community acceptance of the "re[illegible]" was high, with negative reaction minimal, he added. Three other innovations which were introduced during or shortly after reorganization included an "urban-rural" program to develop a model school serving children outside the city limits, with maximum community participation; a "self-imposed study program" which permitted a B-average student to leave conventional classes and to work in a laboratory, library, another class, or even to goof off, all with the intended purpose of having students learn to use time effectively; and "project child," wherein a child is tested as he enters kindergarten and then receives the attention of a psychologist, therapists or teacher aides as necessary to help overcome learning difficulties.

Emphasis on the Positive

The Harrisburg, Pa., City School District developed a desegregation plan in 1970 which was unusual in its involvement of computers and detailed research before the plan was implemented. But it also featured educational innovation as part of the program – adopted under pressure from state human rights officials to come up with a desegregation plan. Under the new plan, for the first time, four- and five-year-old children were offered schooling in early childhood centers. The plans contained provisions for replacing two junior high schools by the end of 1974 with a grade 6-8 middle school to be located in an "educational plaza," and for converting two existing high schools into comprehensive four-year high schools with one specializing in science and the other in arts and humanities.

In the summer of 1972, one Harrisburg official looked back on the 1970-71 school year opening as being "on time and with a minimum of confusion, in spite of two controversial changes going on at the same time." The philosophy of combining desegregation with educational innovation was related to the Pennsylvania School Boards Assn. by James M. Francis, administrative assistant to the Harrisburg superintendent:

> Of the two dramatic changes that were to take place in the school district – integration (the busing of students) – was by far the more controversial. Because it was more controversial, the integration story demanded more news coverage. The public relations effort therefore directed a greater effort to telling the story of better educational opportunities through the grade realignment. This effort brought a better balance to news stories. It was designed to demonstrate that the school district was interested in a superb educational system that was desegregated, rather than any kind of system so long as it was desegregated.

Stress on Reading

Some school administrators see a natural need to restructure the learning environment to mesh with a desegregation plan. This was true in the Berkeley, Calif., Unified School District, according to Neil V. Sullivan, the former Berkeley superintendent, in his book, *Now Is the Time.* "Now heterogeneity is a great word, but to bring it into action takes all the innovative skill teachers and specialists can summon," Sullivan wrote. He worried that "the seeds of tracking" might be planted in the district's integration plan: "Consider reading, for instance. In the primary grades, there would be children reading above grade level and . . . minority children below grade level. The reading class must be racially mixed, yet individual needs must be filled. The high group could be mostly white, the low group mostly black. How do you handle this situation?"

Berkeley teachers met throughout the spring in reading workshops, reviewing some nine programs then in use. "We knew no teacher would go back to the fundamentalist systems of the good old days," Sullivan said. He told of one "homemade" reading program designed by teachers at a workshop, with the help of a reading specialist from the nearby U. of California.

> The key is that all children, whether fast or slow in learning, can work together in one

group while they grasp the basic idea of the words of a story or text. They get it as newspaper readers catch a good headline. Then the concept is broken down and adapted to the varying learning levels while children work in smaller groups.

The reading specialist said such a program had never been put into action anywhere before the 1968 school year, Sullivan reported. "Many other activities that prepared for integration, I am sure, have never been done before. And I am absolutely certain so much has never been done before in any school community. The new school zones steamed with activity," he added. Not only were new education programs developed to coincide with desegregation, but new parent involvement programs and interracial events were conducted to anticipate the opening of the school year.

Individualized Instruction

Wilmer S. Cody, superintendent of schools in Chapel Hill, N.C., and a past consultant to the Cabinet Committee on School Desegregation, told the Mondale committee in 1970 that Chapel Hill had no choice at that time but to change its educational approach to mesh with desegregation:

> Being a college town, Chapel Hill has a predominance of upper-middle-income educated whites and another large group of lower-income blacks who are principally service personnel for the university. There are few people in the middle. In the beginning of desegregation there was not a great amount of overlapping in student achievement levels in the classroom. In response to this problem, a philosophy of individualized instruction has been adopted for the whole school system. A large grant under the Education Professions Development Act was secured to train teachers how to provide learning tasks appropriate to individual student needs.

This, explained Cody, was the alternative to grouping children by ability, or "tracking" them, which he said was just a way to resegregate them. "You work out a balance. I think biracial experiences are an important part of the educational program, and I would go so far as to say that a majority of a student's time should be spent in such activities." He did not rule out brief periods of grouping: "I don't think it is important as long as the rest of the day the other kinds of association exist. But to group students all day long on some ability criteria would be harmful," he concluded.

A Chance to Step Up Change

One school district which has been trying one way or another since 1961 to effect school desegregation is the Riverside, Calif., Unified School District. As the district moved from mere open enrollment and teacher desegregation to active pupil redistribution in 1966, it accompanied the moves "by an acceleration of educational innovation," according to one of the USOE "Planning Change" booklets entitled *How Five School Systems Desegregated.* One example was detailed:

> To avoid a mass exodus from the (Emerson Elementary) school, a special program was set up by the district school administration. The first step was to ungrade the school in every way possible. There were no homogeneous groupings; the new goal was individualization of instruction for each child.

In addition, the administration initiated the following changes in Emerson:

- A special motor development training program.
- Cognitive training and assessment.
- A "third culture" approach to learning in social studies – in fact, anthropology studies of a culture foreign to all the varied racial and economic groups in the class.
- Cross-age teaching, with older children teaching younger ones.
- Cooperative educational and recreation programs with social agencies, local universities, the police and city government.
- Parent involvement, to keep the library open longer, to tutor and to construct learning materials.

E. Ray Berry, superintendent of Riverside, told the Mondale committee in 1971 that he had "permanently concluded" that "we have to have

Don't Neglect To 'Educate' the Teacher

The immense importance of good teacher preparation is underscored in a first-person narrative by a white Louisiana schoolteacher who was suddenly "crossed over" from white schools where she had taught for years into an all-black school with only the most rudimentary summer "workshop" for background. In her book *May I Speak? The Diary of a Crossover Teacher* (Pelican Publishing Co., $4.95), Manie Culbertson said her first reactions were fear, insomnia and nausea when she learned she was on a list to be transferred to an all-black school.

She was equally shocked when she learned that black teachers were not enthused about being transferred to white schools; in fact they "dreaded" the assignments.

Mrs. Culbertson learned a lot in the first month of her new assignment: "While outside appearances have given the impression that the Negroes were receiving a 'separate but equal' education, it is obvious to most of us now that they were not."

Still later in the school year, the white transferred teachers lunched together and "unintentionally" summarized what they had learned. "We agreed that slow-learner techniques work best – change material often because of [the students'] short attention span, use many different devices (especially audiovisual aids), use oral reading, give longer time to finish work, apply little or no pressure, and increase the amount of work gradually." The white teachers were those getting the best education of all, she reflected.

In retrospect, she quoted a fellow transferee who wanted a different kind of preparation than the one they had received. "I wish the crossover workshop had centered around cultural differences. These differences are what I didn't know when I started, and I didn't know that I didn't know the differences between the two cultures."

Mrs. Culbertson concludes that the district did a good thing, however, in picking the most experienced teachers to be the first transferred.

Mrs. Culbertson's experience might be quite different from those of a teacher in any other district using similar or different training, and would undoubtedly differ from those of a teacher in a district which had desegregated pupils as well as teachers. But she and her friends, at least, received what they felt were surprising jolts through their initial months of teaching another race than their own.

this kind of change in the educational process itself, the change in the attitude of people, the whole reorganization." In Riverside's case, he said, "we have to stop talking about integration as something for minority children. That becomes a subordinate phase to a total educational program. We have to start talking about how do you really educate every child."

Thus, while it might seem to be an added complication to an already controversial situation, many school administrators who claim to be happy with school desegregation have deliberately set a goal at the beginning of changing the entire educational process in some way, broadening the goal beyond that of mere desegregation. To them, such goal-setting enhanced, rather than merely complicated, the desegregation plan.

II. Preparing Officials and Staff

There are few areas of public life now attracting more charges of hypocrisy and failure to practice what is preached than the area of school desegregation. One syndicated newspaper column by Nick Timmesch in 1970 detailed how many liberal congressmen and pro-desegregation education officials in Washington, D.C., sent their own children to private or white suburban schools rather than the heavily black Washington schools. The column was circulated, quoted and preached upon for months afterwards. School districts which try to implement a desegregation plan with a segregated administration and faculty are begging for the same treatment, USOE says.

> The administrative staff should also be a model of desegregation in action. A superintendent who has not desegregated his staff cannot possibly expect his principals to desegregate theirs. It is important to provide for desegregated staffs at senior leadership levels as well as lower echelons of responsibility.

Teacher desegregation is not merely a matter of setting an example. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that, in the case of officially caused segregation in any Southern school district, teacher transfers must be made to achieve a racial balance of teachers in each school. That is, if there were 750 white teachers and 250 black teachers in a given school district, each school in that district must come up with a 3-1 ratio of white to black teachers. In addition, USOE says in Volume II of *Planning Educational Change:*

> Faculty desegregation must proceed with careful attention to the development of understanding and collaboration among professional peers. Negro and white teachers encounter many of the same problems in racial relations as do newly desegregated students and community groups. They must give special priority to collaborative effort, however, because faculty relationships often are models for observant students.

There is the other side of the staff desegregation coin, too, besides making certain that conscious or unconscious discrimination does not cut the percentage of black staff. Districts cannot ignore those staffers who flatly resist desegregation. Says Vol. II of the USOE series: "Efforts can be made to help superintendents deal with staff resistance and to develop a unified, committed cadre of administrators. Some staffs have undergone special training to help them work as a unit on new and difficult school policies. When such efforts fail to persuade resistant staff members to support desegregation either out of intellectual commitment or organizational loyalty, other alternatives need to be explored." USOE listed the following as alternatives:

- Retention of resistant staff members so the superintendent can know how opposing groups in the community feel.
- Reassignment of staff members so they may fill staff positions that are useful but do not require decision-making responsibility.
- Termination of contracts of those staff members unable or unwilling to support basic school policy.

Staff Involvement in Integration

Even with an integrated and responsive staff, it is necessary to involve the teachers and their principals in two ways in the desegregation planning and implementation, say the majority of those who have been through it. One way is to bring them into the actual planning process. The other way is to train them in such a way as to make desegregated teaching – and learning – a more

effective process than segregated education was, in most instances.

According to USOE, the principal can help identify any special problems that his school may have, including:

- Implementing additional curriculum offerings.
- Adding administrative personnel.
- Retraining counselors or teachers.

The USOE booklet observes that a principal "who is merely a recipient of a pre-set plan may comply with it as his duty but feel no responsibility or desire to be innovative and creative in its implementation." In addition, if school staff see that their principal exerted no influence in planning, they are less likely to respect his adequacy and competence and are less likely to follow him, the authors say.

Teachers also get in on the ground floor in districtwide planning for desegregation. In the Berkeley, Calif., Unified School District, the superintendent circulated proposed plans for desegregation to all school staff, and in fact incorporated a modification of the plan suggested by a teacher. A principal in Riverside, Calif., reported to USOE researchers that "perhaps the most important educational innovation of all is 'honest' involvement of teachers in curriculum and instructional policy decisions." Sometimes the teacher training process serves to increase involvement as well. USOE says this was true in the small Chattooga County, Ga., system, where training "spurred their participation in the overall planning of the school program. Out of the activities of the (training) program grew several study projects, conducted by teachers working with the curriculum director on educational methods."

These are examples of the involvement of teachers in planning desegregation. But perhaps the more common experiences in many school districts is the training of teachers to teach in new situations: Classrooms filled with children of unfamiliar socioeconomic backgrounds, culture and preparation for learning; curricula which have been redesigned in the planning process, and perhaps most unnerving of all to some teachers, various levels of learning ability or learning achievement in one classroom. The degree of training will vary with the will of the superintendent and board, the resources available – and the awareness of the need for training.

Preparing Staff for Increased Desegregation

A district with years of experience in desegregation – but which is still only part-way along in the process – is the Louisville, Ky., school system. Although it began desegregation back in 1956 in 55 of its 75 schools, Louisville still had enough desegregating to do in 1970 to begin a new training program to help teachers relieve racial isolation in selected target schools.

Carl Hines, vice chairman of the Louisville school board at the time, told a Southern Newspaper Publishers Assn. seminar on desegregation how the board used federal and local funds for a training program:

First, the board began an Organizational Development Program aimed at all 275 administrators from the board on down, including:

- One four-day biracial laboratory for about 24 groups "to . . . promote improved race relationships accompanying additional desegregation."
- "Biracial group processes," to aid in identifying and selecting able administrators and teachers for racially balanced staffs.
- Development of "an awareness and receptivity to the needs of black students."

At the same time, the personnel division began to identify and recruit blacks with leadership qualities to promote black career mobility. This was to be done by: offering leadership training to selected participants "for future leadership positions"; placing selected blacks in leadership positions and administrative openings as they occurred; sending at least four potential leaders to the U. of Louisville to help them qualify for leadership positions.

Seven months later, inservice training began at six target schools plus those "where major changes in the racial composition of the faculty have taken place." The emphasis was on: offering opportunities for individuals to examine their attitudes toward persons of another race, a "greater thrust" in vocational education, and increased use of individualized instruction.

Inservice Training: Involvement for All

The Riverside, Calif., Unified School District found that the usual summer training programs

with lectures to teachers were not enough, "since teachers had not seemed noticeably aided by previous efforts and soon lost their initial enthusiasm," according to USOE. Thus, a new program in 1967 "sought to involve a wide spectrum of school personnel and citizens. In addition to teachers and administrators, participants included teacher aides, custodians, board members, parents from various ethnic and economic groups, and personnel from city and county police, probation, recreation and welfare programs," said the USOE booklet.

The emphasis was on involvement, carefully developed and led by skilled practitioners. Small-group discussions, open confrontations of feelings and fears, and situations that brought together a variety of life styles and backgrounds were arranged. Content was broadened from discussion of school desegregation to the root considerations of change, under the heading, "Education in Transition."

Six Ways To Prepare Staff

When the Harrisburg, Pa., City School District set out to desegregate its schools under a mandate from the state's Human Relations Commission, it hired a consultant firm, Research for Better Schools, Inc., of Philadelphia. In addition to their recommendations for student orientation and parent communication in the initial stages of implementation, the consultants outlined a six-point program of staff preparation:

1. Set up several orientation workshops for teachers, supervisors and administrators to familiarize them with the new organization.

2. Set up orientation workshops for nonprofessional staff.

3. Increase recruitment of well qualified black teachers.

4. Provide opportunities for early childhood teachers to meet and discuss needed facilities. They should also have the opportunity to work with the buildings and grounds committee in defining and implementing these needs.

5. Provide curriculum workshops for teachers on all levels to plan new curriculum and coordinate curriculum throughout the grades. Although curriculum probably should not change radically in the first year, the reorganization of the schools will provide new opportunities for imaginative programs and teaching methods. Staff may want to revise social studies, language arts, math and science, and to include programs specifically geared to educationally disadvantaged children and slow learners.

6. Provide training sessions for early childhood and elementary teachers, most of whom will not have taught in desegregated classes. Topics should include learning styles, pupil performance, teacher-pupil relations, teacher expectations (it is important to generate high expectations of all students), and discipline. Teachers should suggest topics for future training sessions. Each early childhood and elementary teacher might spend a week or more during this spring at a school with a different racial composition under a school exchange program.

III. Making the Physical Changes

The nation's school districts vary extremely in size, geographical, financial and demographic characteristics and in other features. Because they do, the problems associated with the physical changes in school desegregation vary from district to district. What works for a tiny five-school district with a stable school population has no bearing at all on the experience of Detroit, Los Angeles or Boston, with their ever-changing ratio of black, white and Spanish-speaking students.

Also, because these more technical aspects of school desegregation appear to be susceptible to more conventional management skills, the usual technique of this report – using examples, or models – seems less valuable than a straightforward enumeration of the elements which experts deem to be common to most, if not all, attempts to make physical change in a school district.

In the search for a common denominator, the U.S. Office of Education booklet, *Vol. I, Planning Educational Change: Technical Aspects of School Desegregation,* appears with a compilation of detailed steps which can help nearly any school district meet its objectives. Following are the pertinent parts of that volume:

I. DATA REQUIRED FOR DESEGREGATION PLANS

The development of a sound desegregation plan depends upon cooperation between the local school officials and technical assistance personnel in collecting accurate data and information about the school system. Some of the kinds of information needed include:

- o Student enrollments by school, grade, race
- o Staff assignments by school, position, race
- o Capacity, age, location and adequacy of all school facilities
- o Curricular and extracurricular offerings in each school
- o Demography and geography of the community, including potential safety hazards
- o Distances between schools and between population centers
- o Transportation facilities available
- o Tax base and fiscal information
- o Organization and current policies of the school district
- o Past efforts to desegregate
- o Office for Civil Rights, D/HEW, compliance requirements.

The following are suggested as means of obtaining the necessary facts:

1. Building information

To develop a plan, data on staff, building capacity, students, grade level, and so forth are necessary. This type of information can be supplied by each school principal. (See p. 62.)

2. Proposed building information

Information on future construction plans, including long-range projected plans, should be obtained. (See p. 62.)

3. Pupil locator maps

A pupil locator map for each school should be prepared by local school officials. The lowest grade of each school usually enrolls the greatest number of pupils. Thus, plotting the location of the students in the lowest grade of every school in the system should prove to be representative of total student distribution. For example, if the school system is set up as 6–3–3, three pupil locator maps should be prepared. The first map would locate every student in the 1st grade, the second map would locate every student in the 7th grade, and the third map would locate every 10th-grade student. If the school system is 4–4–4, a separate map should be prepared for students in grade 1, students in grade 5, and students in grade 9.

In addition, it is important to obtain projected figures for the student population over the next 5 years, and to foresee changing housing patterns in the community. These procedures may prevent re-segregation in the future.

The residences of Negro and white students should be plotted on maps by the use of different symbols or colors. For example, white students could be plotted with red dots and Negro students with green dots. (See p. 63.)

Maps of adequate size should be used. They may be procured from the local Chamber of Commerce, State and county highway departments, or other municipal agencies. Duplicate copies of these maps will be needed.

In some cases a separate locator map for each school may be necessary. These maps can show the flow patterns of students as established under present policies.

4. School and school site map

A map should be obtained which shows the location of each school in the system. Schools should be placed on the map, coded as to level. In addition, all proposed buildings and sites owned by the board should be shown. All schools should be located in blue; elementary schools ○, intermediate schools △, and high schools □. (See p. 64.)

5. Transportation maps

Maps should be obtained showing all bus routes, the schools served, the number of miles driven for each route, and the number of students living on each route. Students should be designated by race. (See p. 65.)

6. Demographic smear map

This map shows the community population distribution by race.

II. EFFECTIVE USE OF DATA

As a preliminary step to the use of data obtained, an on-site inspection should be made of community housing patterns and existing school facilities. A ride through the community surrounding each school and an external examination of schools and school sites will usually be sufficient. This inspection will provide the background necessary to work effectively with the data collected, and a demographic smear map could be prepared at the same time.

The following steps have proved successful in the development of desegregation plans and might serve as useful guides once the data have been assembled.

The examples used are based on an average-sized school district organized on a 6–3–3 grade structure. As the size and grade structure vary, these steps may be modified. For illustration, the maps included in the appendix have been reduced in size, with the exception of the pupil locator map. For urban areas of dense population, a map scale of 1 or 2 inches to a mile is recommended.

1. As a reference guide, the following symbols and colors will provide easy identification:

White students	-- Red dots
Negro students	-- Green dots
Elementary schools	-- Blue circles
Intermediate schools	-- Blue triangles
High schools	-- Blue squares
Zone lines	-- Black

2. In most cases, it is advantageous to start with the elementary schools. Place a sheet of acetate overlay over the school locator map and mark all elementary schools on the acetate with a blue circle. Either on the edge of the acetate or on a separate sheet of paper place the following information for each school:

a. Name of school
b. Date of construction
c. State rated capacity
d. Current enrollment
e. Number of portable classrooms, if any.

As additional information is needed, consult data sheets for individual and surrounding schools. (See p. 62.)

3. Remove overlay from school locator map and secure over elementary pupil locator map.

4. Consider the location of pupils in relation to the existing elementary schools.

5. Where simple zoning does not result in significant desegregation, techniques should be considered such as:

a. Pairing of schools
b. Grade structure reorganization
c. Central schools
d. School closing
e. Special-service schools
f. Education parks
g. Education complexes
h. Metropolitan plans
i. Magnet schools
j. Construction (where financially feasible).

6. Using zoning and other techniques, establish on the acetate a plan for elementary schools which is educationally sound and administratively feasible. All techniques used should be clearly indicated on the acetate.

7. Repeat steps numbers 2–6 for the intermediate schools, keeping in mind that elementary school zones should, where possible, feed intermediate school zones. The acetate containing the elementary plan can be occasionally placed over the intermediate overlay to check for desirable feeder patterns.

8. Repeat steps numbers 2–6 for the high schools, keeping in mind that both elementary and intermediate zones should feed high school zones.

9. A permanent map for each level should be prepared from the acetates and a narrative description of the plan should be prepared for explanation to those involved in the desegregation of the school district. The written plan should include pertinent background information as well as specific recommendations developed for transition to a unitary system, including desegregation of faculty and staff, elimination of a dual transportation system, and policy on future construction and minority transfer policies.

10. Alternate plans should be developed where it is clear that more than one technique would result in complete desegregation or where other factors might be present that would dictate the need for an alternative, such as the relative educational soundness of various techniques.

Following are descriptions of various techniques for use in developing desegregation plans and a description of the manner in which a final plan should be presented. Presentation to local school officials and the public should be kept in mind throughout the development process, with particular emphasis upon the kind of plan(s) developed and why.

III. DESEGREGATION TECHNIQUES

The techniques for developing an effective plan vary, since they are contingent upon such factors as size of the student population, residential patterns of the community, number and location of schools in the system, and grade levels served by each school. Those discussed in this section have been used by many school systems. In some cases one of the techniques will be adequate to do the job, but in larger systems a combination of one or more may be needed.

It will become necessary to analyze the data obtained and the maps and overlays developed in order to determine which technique is most effective in a particular situation.

GEOGRAPHIC ATTENDANCE ZONES

In many school systems it will be possible to assign students to schools on the basis of geographic attendance areas. Zone boundaries should be drawn in a manner promoting a maximum of desegregation in each school and in as many schools as is administratively feasible. This would tend to deter the process of resegregation or exclude it altogether as a possibility. In many cases it will be sufficient merely to enlarge existing attendance areas. In others, new and imaginative attendance areas must be drawn to assure that schools serve a racially and socially heterogeneous student population. Many systems have used school bus routes as a basis for establishing attendance areas.

Illustration #1

Illustration #2

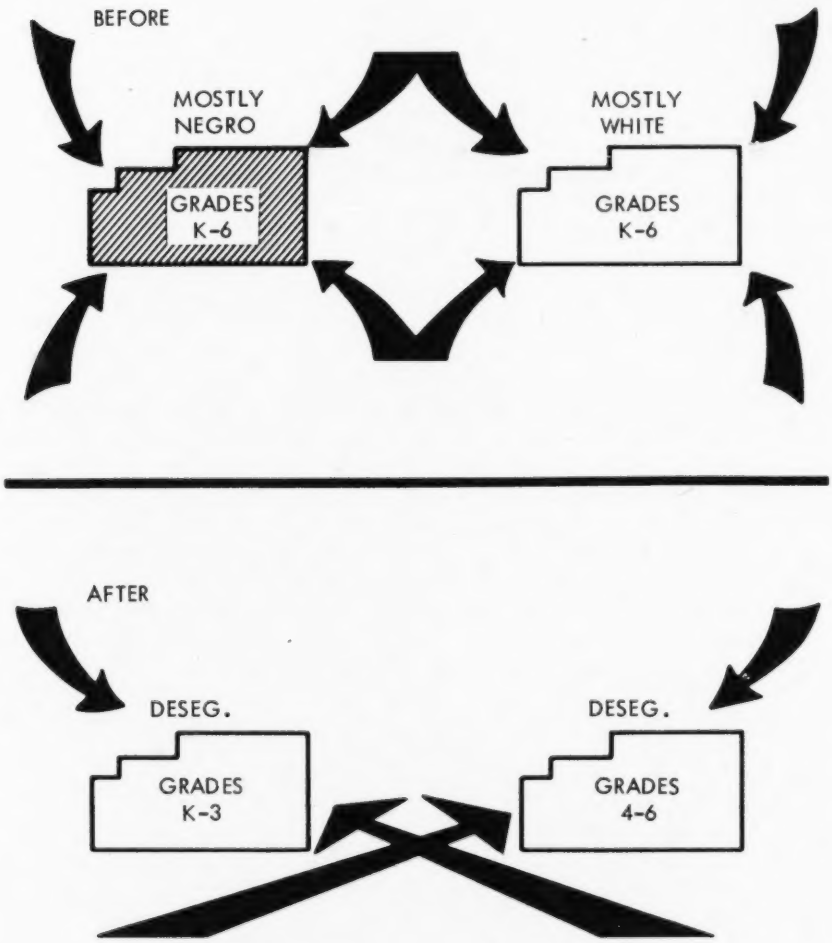
PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS

DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

SCHOOL PAIRING

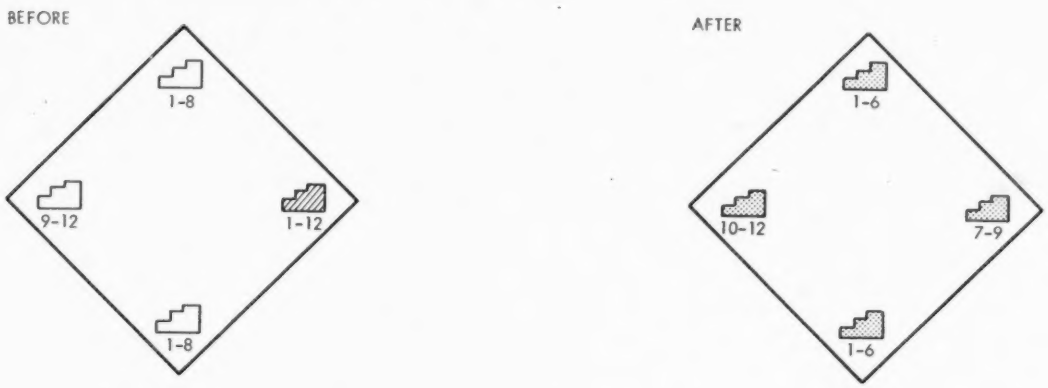
This method of desegregation is best suited to an area of a school system which has two comparable schools located within a relatively short distance of each other. Before pairing, one school might be a predominantly Negro school serving grades 1–6. The other school might be a predominantly white school serving the same grades. After pairing, one school could serve grades 1–3 and the other 4–6. In this way the former attendance patterns for the two schools would be merged to form one larger attendance area for both schools.



BEFORE PAIRING, STUDENTS ENROLL ACCORDING TO EACH SCHOOL'S ATTENDANCE AREA. AFTER PAIRING, STUDENTS OF BOTH ATTENDANCE AREAS ENROLL IN THE TWO SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO GRADE.

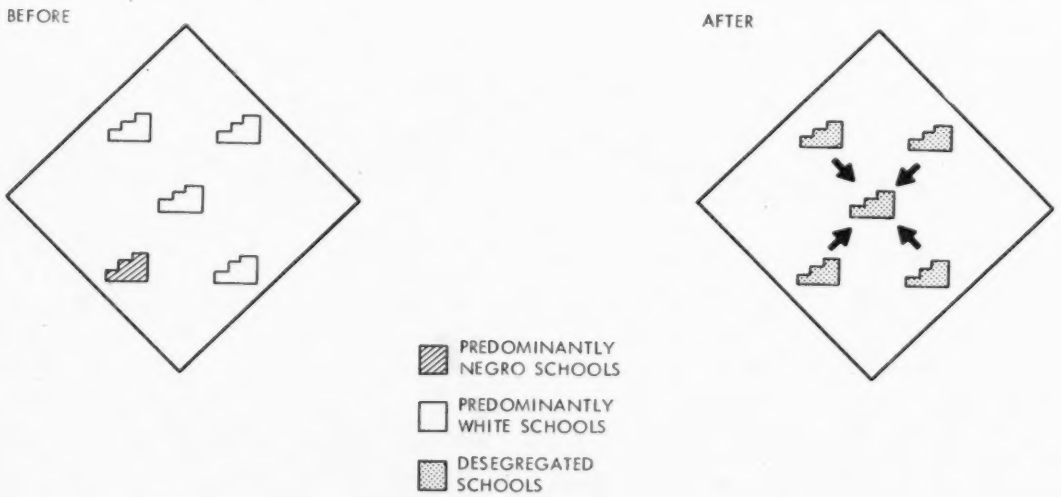
REORGANIZATION OF GRADE STRUCTURE

In some school systems, desegregation may be accomplished through changing the basic grade organization. Prior to reorganization there might be a predominantly Negro school serving grades 1–12, one predominantly white high school serving grades 9–12, and two predominantly white elementary schools serving grades 1–8. The system could be reorganized on a 6–3–3 basis for all schools. The formerly white high school could serve grades 10–12, the formerly Negro school could serve grades 7–9, and the formerly white elementary schools could be zoned to serve grades 1–6. Utilizing this method would not only completely desegregate the system but would also make full use of existing school plants.



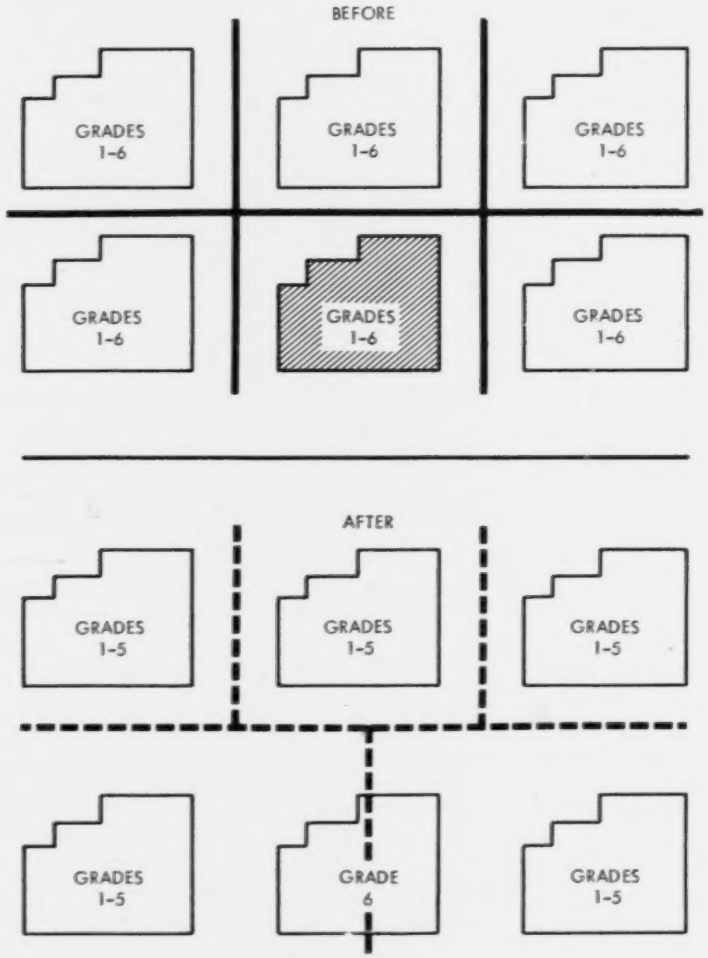
ESTABLISHING SCHOOLS FOR SPECIAL SERVICES

A school formerly attended predominantly by students of one race may be converted into a special-services building to serve the entire system. The special-services needs of the system should be assessed to determine how the building might be best utilized. Such a facility could be used to house classes for the educable mentally retarded and physically handicapped students with hearing or sight difficulties, or as an adult education center, advanced learning center, or recreation center.



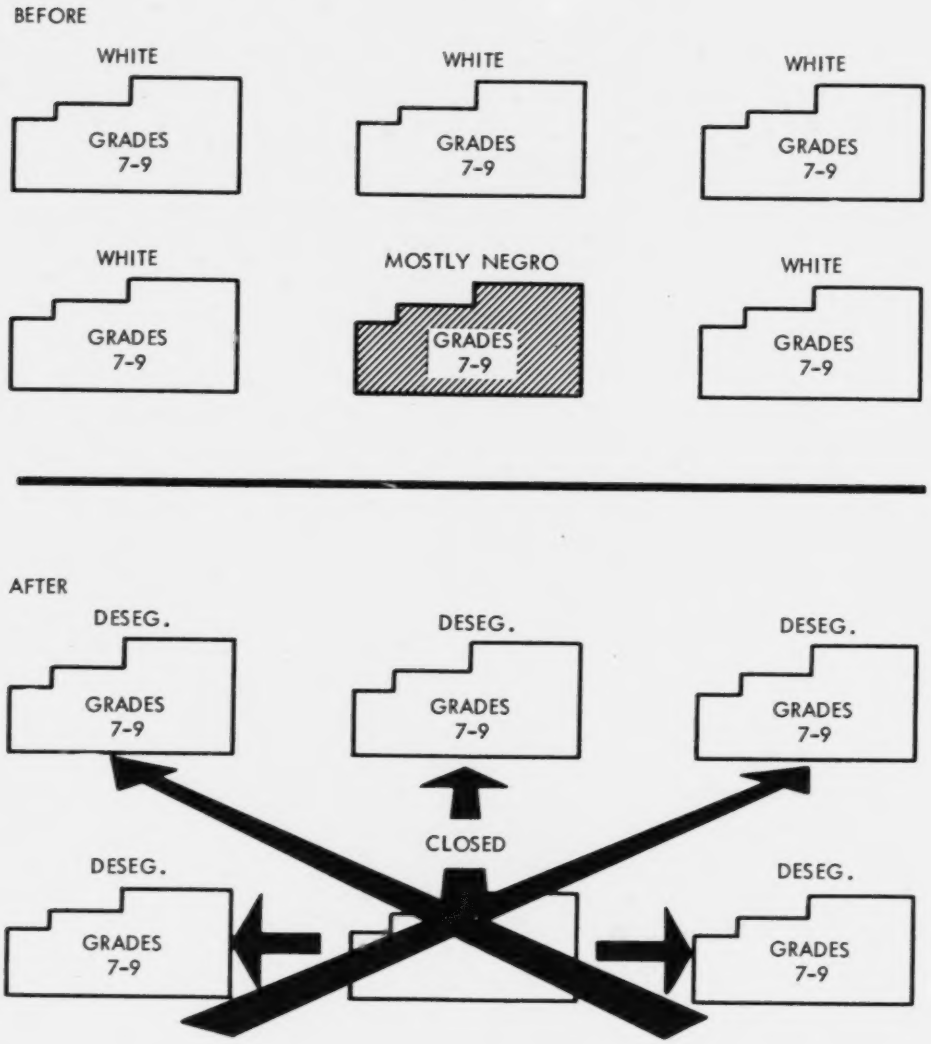
CENTRAL SCHOOLS

Central schools are established by converting one or more facilities into schools which serve a single grade for a much larger geographical area. Thus, when a central school is created, attendance areas for the remaining schools can be enlarged. For example, a predominantly Negro elementary school could be converted into a school for all 6th-grade students in the community. The remaining elementary schools would then serve only five grades.



SCHOOL CLOSING AND CONSOLIDATION

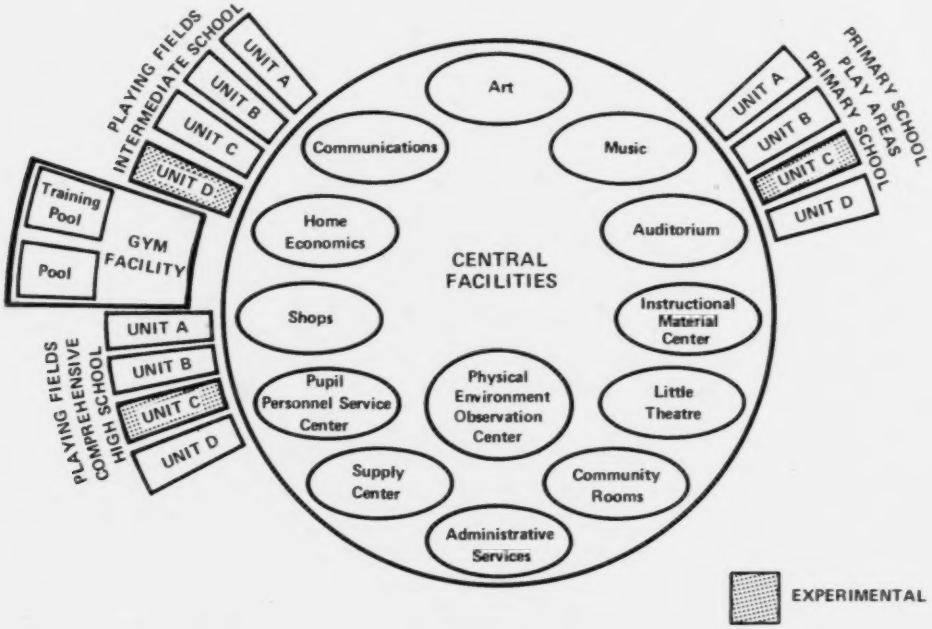
In many systems small inadequate schools exist which were originally established for students of a particular race. Such schools deny students equal educational opportunity and should be closed and the students assigned to other schools in the system. Consideration should be given to recommending, when administratively feasible, that schools not meeting State or other accreditation standards be closed. Recommendations should be made of other uses that could be made of the facility, such as adult education center, recreation center, reading center, special materials center.



THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IS CLOSED AND THE STUDENTS ARE ASSIGNED TO OTHER SCHOOLS.

EDUCATION PARKS

For some communities the education park plan may be one of the best techniques for achieving desegregation, as well as for improving the overall quality of education and providing opportunities for specialized training. The education park could consist of one facility, centrally located, which would serve all students in the area. The park plan usually calls for new construction but it also permits more innovation and specialized facilities.



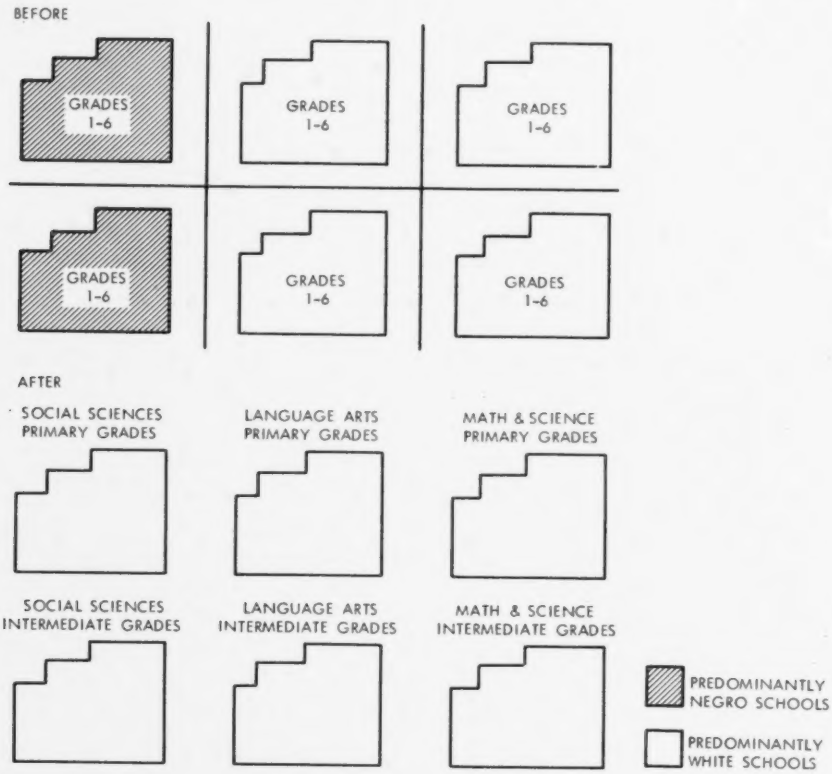
PLAN FOR NEW YORK'S NEW EDUCATION PARK PROVIDES FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS FOR 2,800 PUPILS, INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS FOR 3,600, AND A COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL FOR 4,000. STUDENTS WILL BE GROUPED IN UNITS OF 700 EACH IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 900 IN THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS, AND 1,000 IN THE HIGH SCHOOL. THE CENTRAL UNIT WILL OFFER COMMON FACILITIES FOR ALL SCHOOLS IN THE COMPLEX.*

*DIAGRAM ADAPTED FROM **SATURDAY REVIEW**, NOVEMBER, 1966.

EDUCATION COMPLEXES

This method may be suited for communities in which there are several schools of the same grade structure located relatively near each other. While it might be impossible to draw attendance zones that would desegregate such schools, reorganizing the academic program in each school so that course offerings are distributed among the schools on a departmentalized basis would result in all children attending all schools sometime during the day. This method would also provide for the best distribution of specialized personnel, since all children would be gathered in one building for each curricular area. One situation conducive to reorganization into an education complex would be an area of a community in which there are five elementary schools, two predominantly Negro and three predominantly white. The five schools could be reorganized into the

following: a social science building, a language arts building, a math and science building, a central library building, and a special education building. The reorganization would result in more concentrated programs for all children in the area.



METROPOLITAN PLAN

The metropolitan plan may embody some or all of the features of education parks and complexes but differs in that it includes surrounding suburban areas. Thus, one large complex of buildings and facilities located in the the city would serve central city and suburban children. The site of the complex should be as convenient as possible to all areas that it serves and should be large enough to permit growth.

Illustration #1

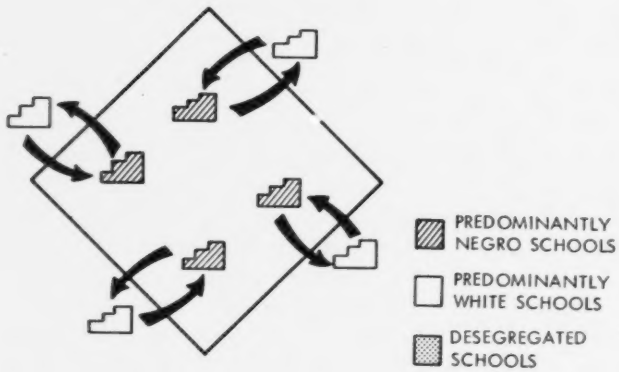
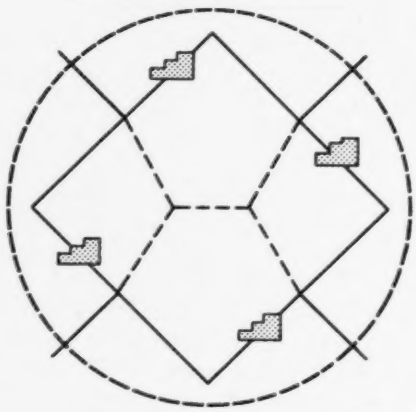
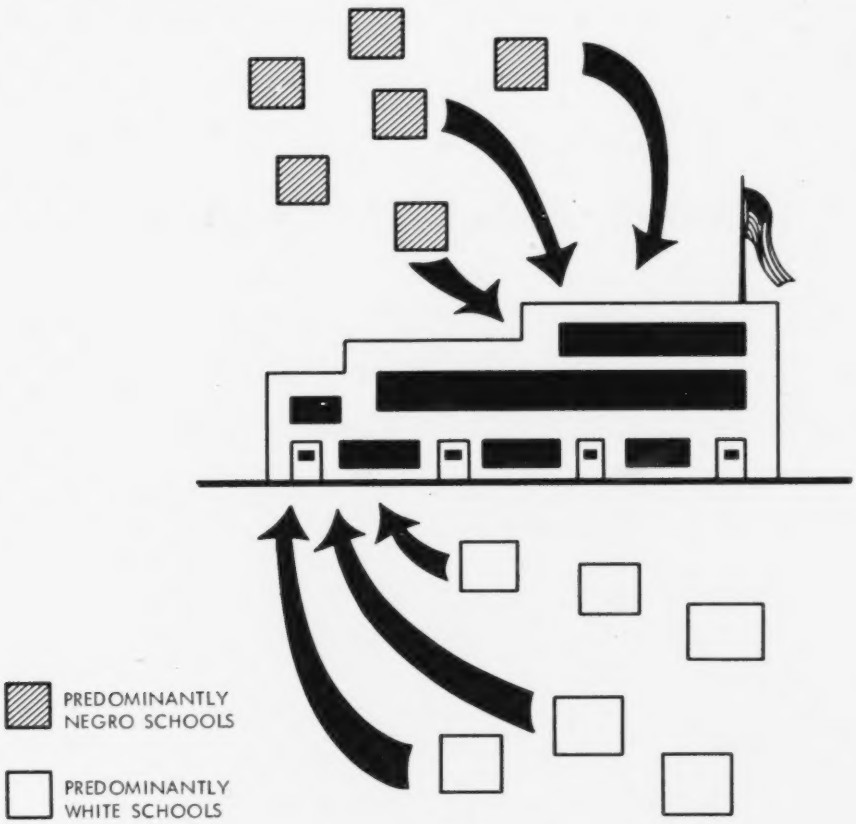


Illustration #2



MAGNET SCHOOLS AND SUPPLEMENTARY CENTERS

To attract students from a wide geographical area of a school district, programs which are innovative or which are designed to supplement activities existing in traditional schools could be offered exclusively at "magnet" schools. A supplementary center could also offer a special curriculum taught nowhere else in the system. Many students should be eager to choose to attend such a school on a full-time or part-time basis. Attracting students from as large a geographic area as possible would assure a more racially and socially heterogeneous student population.



IV. FACULTY AND STAFF DESEGREGATION

Faculty and staff desegregation is an essential part of the total desegregation process. In developing a plan for the complete desegregation of a school system, local school officials are responsible for reassigning staff so that no single school can be identified as being for one race. Since the reassignment of total staff must take into consideration the academic preparation and certification of each staff member, no specific guidelines can be formulated that would be applicable to every situation. There are, however, certain generally applicable criteria for the reassignment of staff on a desegregated basis:

1. To the extent possible, no school should have a faculty that can clearly be identified as intended for students of a particular race, color, or national origin. Where staff size permits, Negro and white personnel should be placed on the faculty of each elementary and secondary school in the system.

2. In the event of a reduction in staff or assignment to lower status due to complete desegregation, the staff members to be released or assigned to lower status positions must be selected from all the school system's professional staff members without regard to race, color, or national origin and on the basis of objective and reasonable standards. In addition, no vacancy may be filled through recruitment from outside the system unless school officials first determine that none of the displaced staff members is qualified to fill the vacancy.

3. In no event should teachers or administrators be assigned to positions for which they are not properly certified. If retraining is planned for the reassignment of staff in different positions or for upgrading of skills, the expense should be borne by the school system or some outside source, such as the Education Professions Development Act. Funds from Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can be used for inservice training of staff to prepare them specifically for functioning in desegregated settings.

4. The salary of no employee should be reduced as a result of the implementation of the proposed plan of desegregation.

Statements of policies formulated with regard to the reassignment, new assignment, and promotion of staff should be distributed to all professional employees. Similar policy statements should also be distributed to nonprofessional staff.

5. In the reassignment of staff, sound personnel procedures should be practiced. Assignment of staff members to desegregated teaching situations should be made as early as possible in the spring of the school year preceding the new assignment. Along with this assignment process, meetings should be held with staff members to answer questions and clarify any new policies with regard to the desegregation of faculty.

V. EFFECTIVE DESEGREGATION

The problems faced by school officials during the desegregation process are numerous. Many are complex and require comprehensive analysis if adequate and lasting solutions are to be found. Most local school officials and their staffs have had little or no preparation for dealing with problems incident to desegregation. Also, it is often difficult for those most closely involved to give attention to specific details while maintaining an overall view of the many different aspects of the process. Personnel policy and deployment, curriculum content and organization, materials and resources, program planning, inservice teacher training, school-community relations, extracurricular activities, parent-teacher relations, evaluation, student grouping methods--these are just a few of the many areas which should be considered if a district is going to move smoothly toward a unitary school system.

The following checklists of specific factors may serve as a guide by which school officials and their staffs can assess their efforts to provide the best possible educational experiences for all students under their responsibility. They will aid school officials in planning for desegregation, in assessing activities already underway, and in moving from physical desegregation toward the more complex curricular changes required for effective integration. Each factor in the checklists may be assessed by placing a "no", "somewhat", or "yes" answer in the space provided to the left.

SCHOOL OFFICIALS:

_____ **1.** Are the Board of Education and other local school officials providing active and progressive leadership toward the elimination of the dual school system?

_____ 2. Are local school officials carrying the major responsibility for school desegregation rather than depending upon the voluntary choices of parents and students ?

_____ 3. Is desegregation being carried out as fast as is administratively feasible, without unnecessary delay ?

_____ 4. Are school officials meeting with and involving representatives of local organizations, white and black, interested in education ?

_____ 5. Are positive steps being taken to keep the total community informed of major decisions, plans, and progress ?

_____ 6. Are efforts being made to take full advantage of all available technical assistance from local, State, and national sources ?

_____ 7. Does the Board of Education have a clear written policy of providing maximum education for each child ?

_____ 8. Are school officials doing the program planning necessary to provide each child with a maximum educational opportunity ?

_____ 9. Does the Board of Education have a policy which encourages all students, regardless of race, to participate fully in all of the activities of the schools ?

_____ 10. Are positive efforts being made to staff each school with qualified teachers of differing races and/or national origin ?

_____ 11. Are positive steps being taken to hire qualified minority-group teachers ?

_____ 12. Is the staff being prepared for school desegregation through inservice training programs ?

_____ 13. Is the district planning for staff and student human relations activities prior to desegregation ?

_____ 14. Is positive action being taken to avoid resegregation in classrooms and school activities after desegregation has taken place ?

_____ 15. Are curricular reforms necessary for successful desegregation being studied, developed and implemented ?

_____ 16. Are multi-ethnic and minority group materials available in the classrooms and the library ?

CLASSROOM TEACHERS AND OTHER STAFF :

_____ 1. Are you able to identify problems that block or hinder open and honest communication between yourself and your principal, your fellow teachers, and your students ?

_____ 2. Do you inspire your students to respect one another and be open and honest in their communications with you and with other students ?

_____ 3. Do you read books or articles to increase your understanding of and sensitivity to the particular aspirations, needs, problems, and frustrations of minority or disadvantaged children ?

_____ 4. Do you take the initiative in dispelling prejudices, stereotypes and misunderstandings among students under your responsibility ?

_____ 5. Do you listen with an open mind to students and faculty members of other racial groups, even if their ideas are divergent from your own thinking ?

_____ 6. Do you strive to avoid expressions and actions which are offensive to members of other groups ?

_____ 7. Do you help to discourage or prevent patterns of informal discrimination, segregation, or exclusion of minority group members from school clubs, committees, and so forth ?

_____ 8. Do you utilize classroom techniques and methods, such as improvisational dramatics, role-playing, joint planning of programs by teachers and students, small-group sensitivity discussions, and analysis of group roles that will increase spontaneity and honesty of expression and an understanding of the dynamics of group interaction ?

_____ 9. Are you aware that group prejudices and antagonisms might be reinforced by homogeneous or ability grouping and have you taken steps to prevent this reinforcement ?

_____ 10. Are your teaching methods and materials appropriate for heterogeneous groups of students ?

_____ 11. Do you suspect that latent prejudices or stereotyped thinking may unfairly influence your discipline or evaluation of students ?

_____ 12. Do your outside reading assignments include accounts of all races ? If not, are you familiar with bibliographies containing such readings ?

_____ 13. Do you continually check with your school librarian to learn how much material of this type is available in your school library ?

_____ 14. Do you show Negro as well as white groups in your bulletin board displays ?

_____ 15. Do your classroom pictures of great people include Negroes as well as whites ?

_____ 16. Have you discarded pictures or posters that may reinforce Negro stereotypes or stereotypes of other minority groups ?

_____ 17. Do your pictures of cities include representatives of different cultural groups ?

_____ 18. Do you use magazine and newspaper articles relating to interracial experiences and problems that can be discussed in class for better human relations ?

_____ 19. Do you evaluate your textbooks to determine whether they contain fair and appropriate treatment of minority groups ?

_____ 20. Do you make efforts to overcome any deficiencies of your textbooks' treatment of minority groups ?

_____ 21. Do your students have opportunities to learn democratic skills and values by interacting in problem-solving groups ?

_____ 22. Do you encourage your problem-solving groups to concern themselves with problems in intergroup relations that have immediate relevance to their lives ?

_____ 23. Do you organize and present your material (units of work) to include contributions of minority groups and individuals ?

_____ 24. Do you visit or otherwise personally familiarize yourself with the families and communities of your students ?

_____ 25. Do you make efforts to involve the parents or guardians of your students in school activities ?

VI. PRESENTING COMPLETED DESEGREGATION PLANS

Any plan presented for adoption by a school system should contain the following elements:

1. The plan should satisfy all requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and/or of the court. Approval should be obtained from these sources prior to presentation.

2. The plan should employ the most educationally sound technique(s) for the district.

3. The plan should be administratively feasible.

While school officials may want to negotiate the provisions of the plan with Federal technical assistance personnel in the area, it should be kept in mind that any negotiations for the purpose of official plan approval must be between the Office for Civil Rights (Title VI CRA) and/or the court and the school system.

The materials to be used in presenting the plan should be reviewed thoroughly before the presentation and should be organized in an orderly and coherent manner.

As a suggested format for the presentation:

1. Outline briefly, if necessary, the legal requirements for desegregation, including recent court decisions.

2. Distribute copies of the written plan to each person present.

3. Explain the desegregation plan in great detail, using maps, overlays, charts, overhead projector, and a detailed written description. For districts that are made up of several attendance areas, it is suggested that the presentation cover one area at a time.

4. Make educational recommendations that are pertinent to plan implementation. Explain the various sources of technical assistance available for plan implementation.

5. Make recommendations that are not only pertinent to short-range plan implementation, but that also deal with effective desegregation and prevention of resegregation.

BUILDING INFORMATION

Name of School _____

Address _____

Name of Principal _____

Grades in School _____

Number of Permanent Teaching Stations _____

State Rated Capacity _____

Maximum Building Capacity (without portables) _____

Portable Classrooms _____ Number _____ Capacity

Temporary Classrooms _____ Number _____ Capacity

Current Student Enrollment _____ White _____ Negro

Total Student Enrollment _____

Number of Teachers Full time or Part time _____ White _____ Negro

White	Negro	Total
Full time _____	Full time _____	Full time _____
Part time _____	Part time _____	Part time _____

Other Professional Personnel _____ White _____ Negro _____ Total

ENROLLMENT BY GRADES

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
W													
N													
Total													

Number of Students Transported _____

Age of Building _____ Type of Construction _____

Number of Acres in School Site _____ Number of Square Feet in Building _____

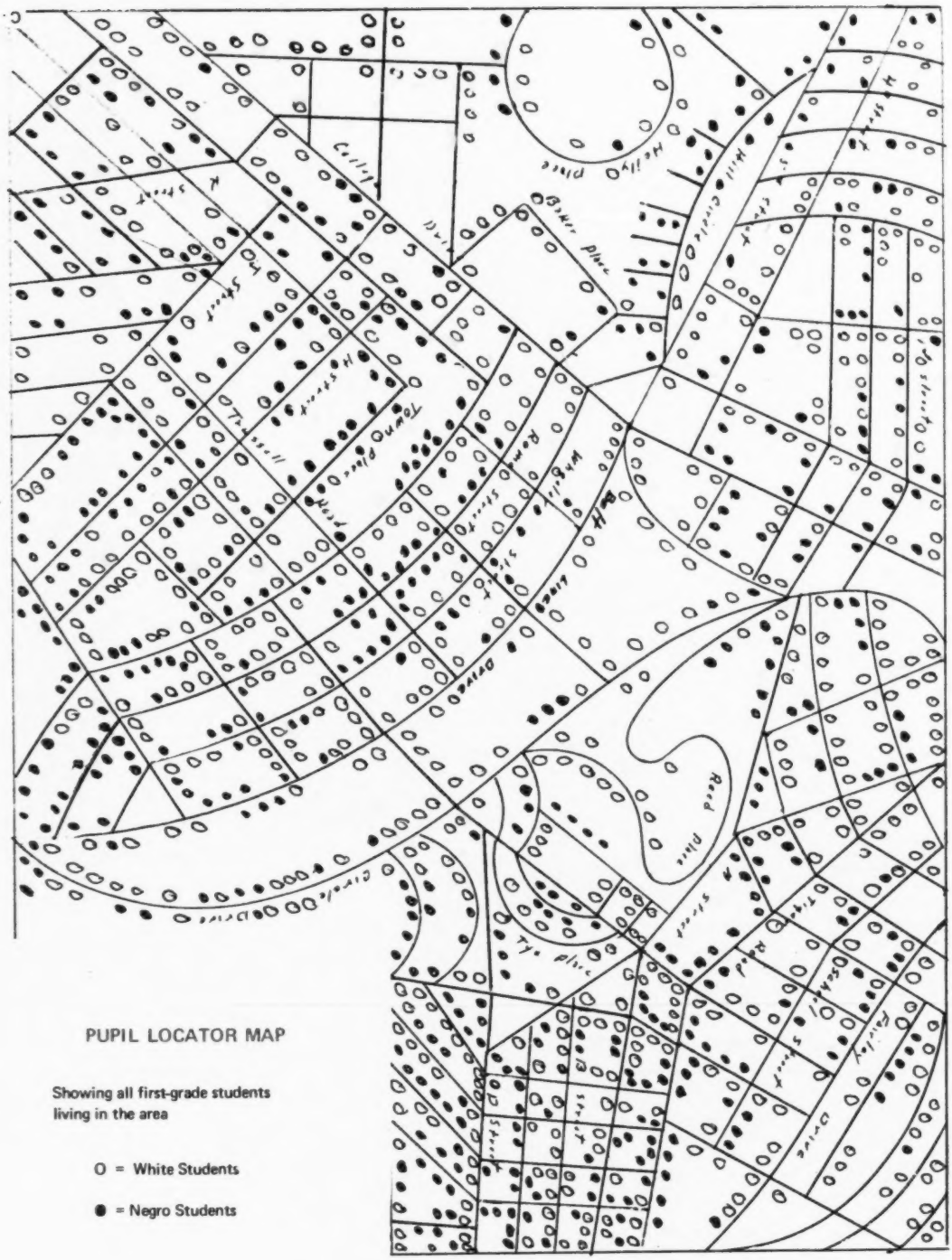
This building contains the following facilities: (please check)

Cafeteria _____ Multipurpose room _____

Gymnasium _____ Teacher lounge _____

Library _____ Auditorium _____

Attach a list of the subjects and courses offered.

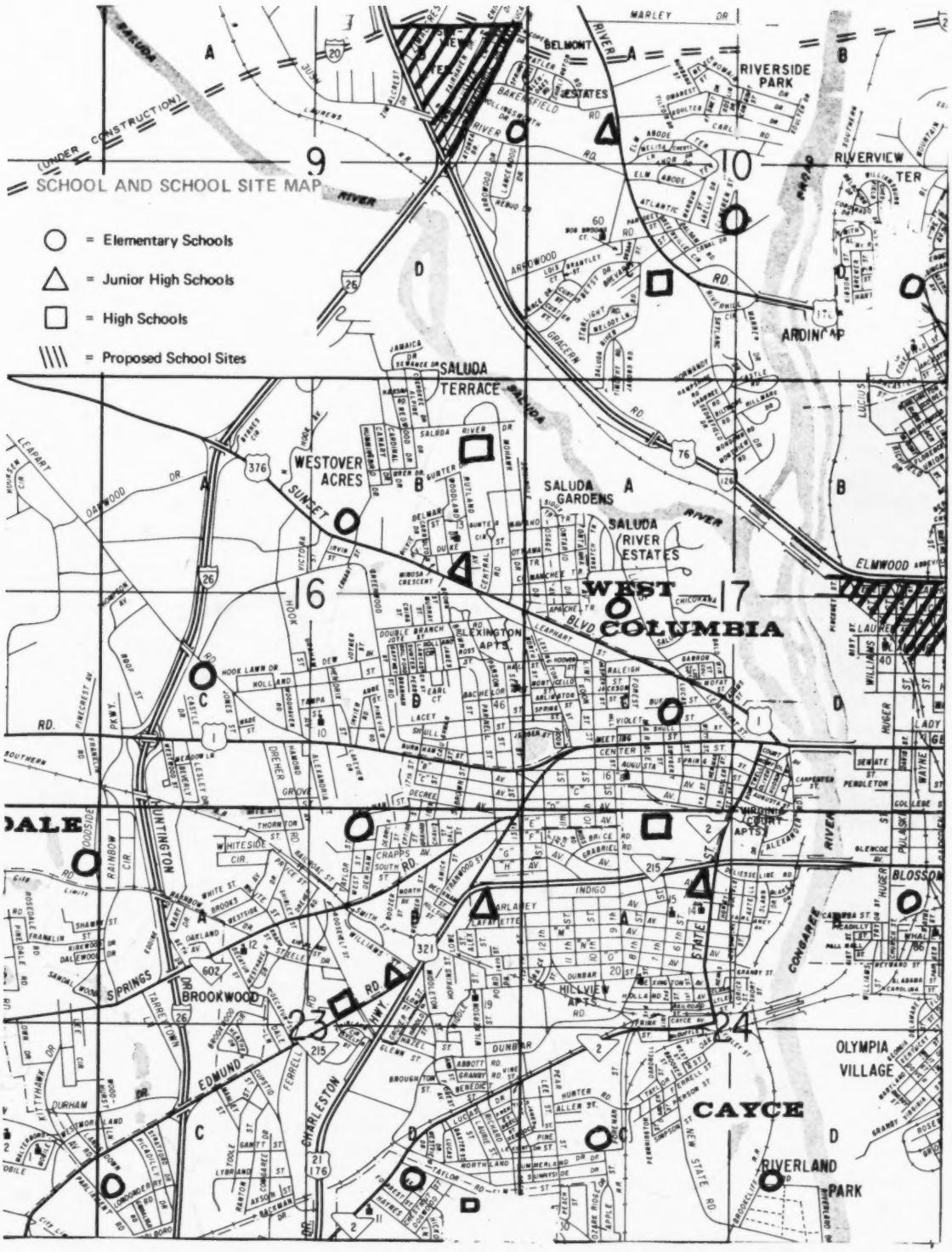


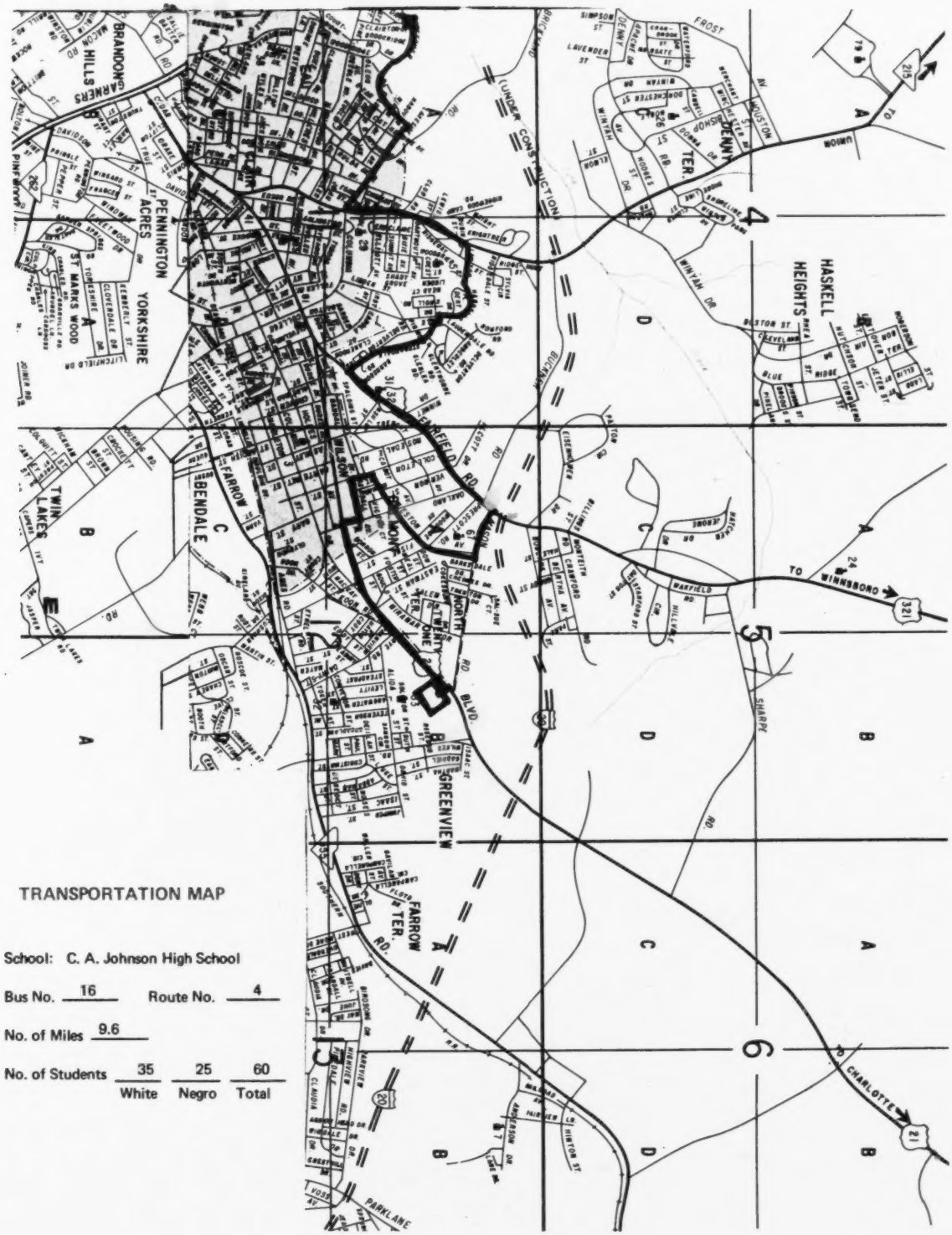
PUPIL LOCATOR MAP

Showing all first-grade students living in the area

O = White Students

● = Negro Students


SCHOOL AND SCHOOL SITE MAP
○ = Elementary Schools
△ = Junior High Schools
□ = High Schools
|||| = Proposed School Sites
(UNDER CONSTRUCTION)
SALUDA
RIVER
BELMONT ESTATES
RIVERSIDE PARK
RIVERVIEW TER
ARDINCAP
SALUDA TERRACE
WESTOVER ACRES
SALUDA GARDENS
SALUDA RIVER ESTATES
ELMWOOD
WEST COLUMBIA
LEXINGTON APTS.
VIRGINIA COURT APTS.
HILLVIEW APTS.
BROOKWOOD
OLYMPIA VILLAGE
CAYCE
RIVERLAND PARK
9
10
16
17
23
24



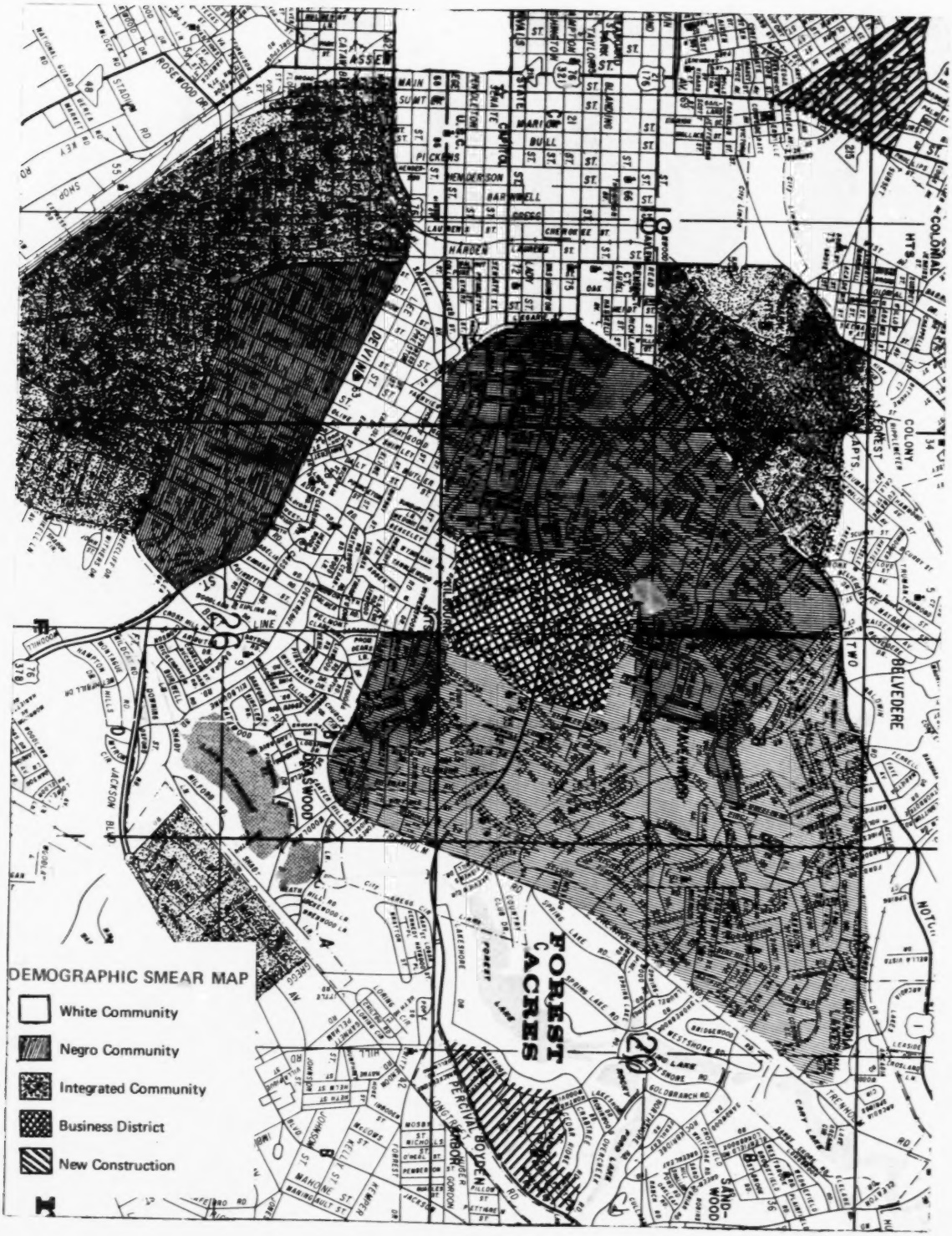
TRANSPORTATION MAP

School: C. A. Johnson High School

Bus No. 16 Route No. 4

No. of Miles 9.6

No. of Students 35 (White) 25 (Negro) 60 (Total)


DEMOGRAPHIC SMEAR MAP
White Community
Negro Community
Integrated Community
Business District
New Construction
FOREST ACRES
BELVEDERE
ARCADIA LAKES
SANDWOOD
PERCIVAL
BOYKEN

IV. Devising a Feedback, Evaluation and Continuity Plan

Why evaluate? Is it necessary? Yes, say those who have devised plans and have watched them work with varying degrees of success.

The community needs to know that the school board and administration are concerned enough and have enough faith in the plan to *test* its results; national policy makers need to know how various desegregation plans have benefited or failed to benefit the children they were designed to help; and, perhaps most important, a reading on the strengths and weaknesses of a desegregation plan can help a school district adjust its plan in time to get better results.

Human Resources in School Desegregation, Volume II in the USOE series, gives school board and administrators the basic why and how of evaluation:

> The process of planned change is a never-ending effort to improve school life. Efforts at social change need constant monitoring to insure their continuing relevance to the original goals and diagnoses which constitute the basis of a plan.
>
> The same methods that were appropriate for the diagnosis may be useful for evaluation. Examples include attitude surveys, standard performance tests, observational records of classroom interactions, and interviews with staff members or clients. Since there is always a danger that the evaluator's values and interests may bias the results, the superintendent may gain a more objective review from an outside agency than from experts on his own staff.

A Case Study

The Ann Arbor, Mich., Public Schools conducted a three-year research program into its desegregation plan involving the closing of a black elementary school and the busing of students to other schools, both integrated and white. The study cost $102,000 but was 75%-funded by USOE. An assistant superintendent said at the time of its release in late 1969 that the system believed it to be "the first desegregation research project of its kind conducted entirely by the research staff of a public school system."

The research focused basically on the first year of desegregated schooling. It explored academic, social, behavioral and attitudinal characteristics in: the children transferred from the black school, a racially mixed group experiencing no change in setting, and predominantly white children in the six receiving schools.

A limited follow-up was carried out two years later on 40 Negro transfer pupils still in the elementary receiving schools. In all, the data would "serve to define a wide spectrum of potential early outcomes that might be anticipated by other communities adopting this general approach to desegregation; their implications may well extend to other desegregation efforts as well," the research report said.

Here are some excerpts from the summary of the Ann Arbor report, by subject and/or by study technique (with the students divided by their role in the plan, as "transfer," mainly Negro; "non-transfer," racially mixed; and "receiving," predominantly white).

Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement: Academic performance of the transfer group can be summarized as generally poorer than that of the nontransfer and receiving groups, both before the transfer and one year after its implementation. This is demonstrated by a higher incidence of nonpromotion in the transfer group, and by generally lower mean scores on standardized tests of scholastic aptitude, reading and arithmetic . . . in part a reflection of atypical high levels of performance among children in this community.

Differences between white and Negro pupils are substantial, on the whole, and the advantage generally lies with the white child.

As would be expected, all groups demonstrate improved post-transfer performance on standardized tests. The largest gains, however, tend to be made by receiving-school pupils, whose initial performance levels were highest. Thus, the widening achievement gap reported nationally for white and black children as they progress through the grades finds some measure of support here, particularly in reading achievement . . . the desegregation experience provided to Ann Arbor ghetto children cannot be said to have altered this phenomenon appreciably for the transfer group as a whole.

In spite of these discouraging findings, there were also the positive notes that half the transfer pupils showed gain in IQ of 5 points or more, and 37 showed normal or greater gains in reading. Transfer pupils studied two years later were at best holding their own academically, relative to national norms, while progress of receiving, white children seemed unaffected.

Self-esteem, Motivation and Personal Aspiration: With the possible exception of pupils in grades K-1, self-esteem in the transfer group appears to have been generally unaffected by the transfer. For the K-1 transfer population, the initial level of self-esteem was comparable to that of their nontransfer counterparts but somewhat below the level demonstrated in the receiving group. . . . The scores of white transfer pupils tended to diminish somewhat over the post-transfer year, while the scores of Negro transfer pupils tended to increase in the fall and either stabilize at that level (boys) or diminish slightly thereafter (girls) . . . but it is difficult to ascribe the slight gain of the transfer group to the transfer.

(To realize the complexity of the study, note the following:)

Findings from a special substudy, utilizing previously validated experimental measures of achievement motivation, suggest a greater impact of desegregated schooling on the achievement motivation of Negro boys than Negro girls. Over the post-transfer year, Negro boys in the transfer group showed a significantly greater increase in autonomous achievement motivation than did nontransfer boys.

A parallel trend was apparent for social comparison achievement motivation, indicating a reduced tendency of older Negro boys (grades 2-5) to overaspire – i.e., to set unrealistically high goals. Overaspiration was found to be associated with membership in a salient racial minority group in school (Negro or white). For pupils of low-to-moderate socioeconomic status, it is also associated with attending a school in which regular contact with children of higher socioeconomic status is not possible.

Interpersonal Relationships: In general, the transfer pupils appear to have been somewhat less well accepted by their receiving-school classmates than they were the previous year by their classmates in the de facto segregated school.

Both sociometric and self-report data show that the transfer group expressed more positive perceptions of classmates and teachers in the receiving school environment compared to perceptions expressed previously in the segregated school. An opposite tendency appeared among nontransfer pupils. . . . The increased positive response of the transfer group is best described as a strong initial reaction, which diminished to some extent over the course of the year.

Reactions to School: . . .An upward shift in scores from the pre-transfer year to the post-transfer year suggests that the transfer pupils saw their new school situation as *more* supportive than the milieu of the de facto segregated school attended the year before. This post-transfer shift was not evident in the nontransfer group, but it did occur among white receiving-school pupils, raising the possibility that the introduction of a new, predominantly Negro reference group into the receiving schools may have brought new rewards for the white child, in terms of perceived classroom support. Teachers appeared to have a minimal role, if any, in these differing perceptions of school climate.

Interview Data (of children and parent attitudes): Bearing in mind that interview data must be interpreted cautiously, in that it represents only what those interviewed are willing to report, the data presented here indicate that a majority of the transfer pupils and their parents held favorable expectations for the transfer (70% and 55% respectively) and reported favorable reactions following the first year of desegregated schooling (66% and 62%, respectively).

Pupils' attitudes as they reported them were somewhat less positive than the attitudes ascribed to them by their parents; this was particularly true at the end of the post-transfer year, when 92% of the parents reported their children's attitudes toward the transfer to be positive, as compared with 66% of the pupils' reported reactions.

Negro children showed some tendency to express more positive attitudes prior to the transfer, and less positive attitudes after a year in the receiving school, than white children. The reverse was true for white and Negro parents.

In addition to these excerpted sections, there were others reporting on the demographic characteristics of the three sets of students, on pupil health, school attendance and special problems, on behavior in school and on concomitants of change (change in reading as related to gain in vocabulary, etc.). The last paragraph of the summary presents some "tentative conclusions" of the study:

> Desegregation is clearly no panacea for the ills of the ghetto child. The evidence presented here suggests that it may have an early positive impact on the attitudes and behavior of elementary school children, and that it may be a more effective strategy for some children than for others. The evidence suggests also that if the consequences of such intervention are to approach the high hopes reflected in the 1954 Supreme Court decision, in promoting the educational betterment of minority-group children, desegregation must be something more – and probably a great deal more – than moving children from one educational setting to another.

Two Views of an Evaluation

The Ann Arbor study and many of those conducted by other school systems have attempted to bring some objective measurement to bear on an emotional and frequently misunderstood subject. In the absence of such an attempt, some form of evaluation will be done, even if it is only the introspection and observation of school board members, the school staff, the media and the public. Each will form an opinion of a desegrega-

tion plan; if there is little in the way of hard data to use to judge the plan, it will be judged anyway.

Thus, at an April 1972 meeting of the Council of Big City Boards of Education of the National School Boards Assn., two Norfolk, Va., school board members gave their own assessment of desegregation in Norfolk. They included what had happened and what was needed in a school system which desegregated bit by bit beginning in the 1960s and culminated in extensive busing in the 1972-73 school year. The assessments were different indeed, one coming from a white businessman who was chairman of the Norfolk school board and former chairman of the Council of Big City Schools, the other from the one black member of the board, a woman long active in civil rights.

Vincent Thomas, the board chairman, told big city board members that "the trick is maintaining integration once we get it," and noted that it is the board members "who have to be what we would call pragmatic idealists. After all, the policies are made by the federal government, the courts, the state and the local government, then we're the ones who have to implement it, we have to make it work." In any school system, he said, "we need a lot more objectivity given to these matters than we seem able to give." He was particularly critical of the booklet, *It's Not Over in the South,* as being inaccurate, prejudiced and irresponsible. He charged that it "increased divisions" in Norfolk. (The report was critical of Norfolk.)

Thomas drew a balance sheet of Norfolk's experience as his way of evaluating the good and the bad. He called it "a mixed bag, and I hope we can change some of the negative things."

On the negative side, Thomas listed:

- Lost 20% of white middle-class people. This has implications for future support of public education.
- Cost ($1.5 million for buses) and a concurrent budget cut by the city.
- Have to rearrange our priorities, our local priorities, and accept priorities set by others.
- A loss of that sense of community, of getting parents back close to the schools. Bound to lose that when you see some of the distances traveled. PTAs have dropped off and we're going to have to do something to recapture community support.
- Some breakdown of discipline, especially in the attendance area and tardiness. There are disproportionate numbers of blacks who are being suspended and expelled and this is something that we are very disturbed about. Three major reasons for suspension: attendance, truancy; disrespect for teachers; failure to obey orders. It grows out of community attitudes, and must be dealt with in communities, either black or white.
- Need to reduce the number of people who are at war with the school system. We are being blamed for the situation in which we find ourselves.

Positive items on the balance sheet were:

- Most positive thing – and we are completely balanced, with every one of our schools and faculties balanced – is that I believe now whatever it is that Norfolk is offering, every school child in our system has equal access to it. It is a magnificent thing. It is what I think the courts have been trying to urge upon us.
- I don't believe we'll ever go back now, even if we could ease off on what I consider to be too extreme a busing plan.
- Our school board attitude has gotten a lot better. Even though Southern school boards have been kicked down the road every inch of the way, now that we are integrated, we're proud of it and feel that there is something that is very valuable that has happened here – as long as we can maintain some semblance of support of our people.
- Faculty dispersal is very good. Don't worry about integrating your faculties. You'll hear a lot of flap about it, but this breaks up a lot of cliques that you may have had in your school, it puts everybody on their toes. Many teachers who can't handle what's going on in our schools today will remove themselves voluntarily – black and white – who say "I can't hack this." There are plenty of young ones coming along that can hack it and do want to face up to that challenge.
- Caused us to change our educational philosophy from emphasis on middle-class education

to emphasis on individual education for every child.

The black community view was represented at least in part by Mrs. Vivian Mason, the civil rights advocate and Norfolk board member. She responded to Thomas and to the desegregation elements as she saw them:

On the Board of Education: I am sure Mr. Thomas gave what in his mind was a very accurate picture. I was really sorry – and I respect Mr. Thomas' view, of course – that such a melancholy picture was given to you of what has happened. It is past now. . . . I don't have to give you the dark history of foot-dragging that went on throughout the South, including Norfolk. Our school board was like many others, under a hammer: Under the hammer of the community and under the hammer of the courts. I know there was a general feeling in the community, especially among the black people, that we ought not to wait every time for the courts to tell us what to do, that we should have the courage and the leadership sometimes to go ahead and do what we think is right, fair and just, and then let the court sit down and demolish the program if it didn't meet with the specifications of that body.

On Students: All of you who are plagued by discipline problems in the school . . . we need to have joint efforts between the students, the parents and the administration to help resolve these problems. We ought to hear what the students say about actions taken against them. I get annoyed at them very often. Sometimes the hair dos, the swaggering walk and the combs ornamenting the ears, sometimes that annoys me. But I have come to the conclusion that this is a life style for these young people. . . . It still has no real fundamental importance to the process of education.

I know that in our schools, many of our students appear to be careless and indifferent. Well, this has always been true, there have been careless and indifferent students in school. But the problems seem accentuated when we have black and white students together. The same thing is true of fighting. That's been our great tradition, that boys fight. White boys fought white boys, black boys fought black boys. But of course it becomes a different thing when a white boy fights a black boy and vice versa. It immediately takes on a different connotation.

On Teachers: Our teachers are not trained properly to take on the problems of integrated schools. I don't think our community was. I don't blame anybody for this, because in the hurry and the force and the pressures, there perhaps wasn't time. We need compulsory courses for teachers, so that they can understand what's happening in the world around them. You see, black and white have lived in two different worlds, and now the worlds are colliding, in terms of integration. We're on the rim of those two worlds, and because we're on the rim, we teeter and don't know which way to go.

Both the Thomas and the Mason evaluations of Norfolk dealt with real problems in the school system and with the situation of desegregation. But the difference in perception and the difference in emphasis were considerable. And in neither case, were there any hard data from the first days of desegregation in the 1960s on which either of the board members based their discussions.

Four Books: Four Points of View

1. Students: *Two, Four, Six, Eight, When You Gonna Integrate?* By Frank A. Petroni, Ernest A. Hirsch and C. Lillian Petroni, is a study of black and white students' reactions to the desegregation of a high school in an unidentified Midwestern school district. The bulk of the book is uncensored dialogue, with conclusions added by the sociologist-psychologist authors. Behavioral Publications, 2852 Broadway-Morningside Heights, New York, N.Y. 10025; $11.95.

2. Teachers: *May I Speak? Diary of a Crossover Teacher,* by Manie Culbertson, details the conversion of a Louisiana white teacher from the resistant and fearful transferee to a black school to an enthusiastic supporter of her own involvement in desegregation. Pelican Publishing Co., 630 Burmaster St., Gretna, La. 70053; $4.95.

3. Principals: *The Principal: Change-Agent in Desegregation,* by Martha Turnage, is a convincing 60-page book arguing that the principal is the "forgotten man" who really makes desegregation work. It is based on 312 responses to a survey in Virginia and details how the principal fits into the effort and when he works best to aid it. Integrated Education Associates, School of Education, Northwestern U., 2003 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, Ill. 60201; $1.75 plus 20¢ for mailing.

4. Superintendents: *Now is the Time,* by Neil V. Sullivan with Evelyn S. Stewart. How the Berkeley, Calif., schools were desegregated, with much of the agonies, but also a lot of the optimism and tactics which sustained Sullivan in his four-year drive to desegregate. Indiana U. Press, Bloomington, Ind. 47401; $5.95.

OCR Official Views Civil Rights Enforcement

What does civil rights enforcement actually mean at the local level? Why and when does USOE's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) appear on the local scene? Should OCR investigators be viewed as good or bad guys? How does OCR see its role in desegregation cases? What is its track record on enforcement?

In an attempt to answer these questions and particularly to illuminate the role of the media, the superintendent and the board of education in a district "under investigation" by OCR, Peter E. Holmes, acting director of OCR, addressed the annual meeting of the Education Writers Assn. in Washington, D.C., on March 29, 1973.

While slamming the media for what he calls its "dual system" of news coverage on desegregation investigations, he concedes that part of any misconstrued coverage may be due to the federal investigator's failure to make clear the purposes and procedures used. The blame doesn't stop here, according to Holmes; it extends to the school administrator and board members.

The point is not who is to blame or who has been misinterpreted but rather, what happens to the community as a result. Holmes stresses that much of the alarm created in a community where the district is being investigated for possible discrimination could be avoided – since, "in most of our cases, negotiation has settled matters without the necessity of legal action." His remarks, in abridged form, follow:

We (the Office for Civil Rights) are best known for our involvement in school desegregation in the South under a little five-paragraph portion of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, captioned rather blandly as Title VI. In a few years, marked by headline-making controversy, Title VI and court action have eliminated all but a few vestiges of the infamous dual school system. Its primary effectiveness is based on the prohibition of the use of federal funds for programs that discriminate as to race, color or national origin – not just in schools but wherever federal dollars go. We are by no means the only federal agency charged with Title VI enforcement. All have the same responsibility. But because HEW's funds go to schools, colleges, hospitals, nursing facilities and state agencies – we are pulled headlong into the forefront of public attention.

Historically, many newspapers greet our investigative teams with news desk delight and editorial page dismay. The news desk marks us good page-one copy. The editorial page marks us fair game and not infrequently invites us to leave town by sundown because our very presence is a slur on somebody's fine name. This is a dual system peculiar to the news industry.

Our clippings file, which goes back many years, will prove at once to any student of history that we move too fast, too slow, too gingerly, too clumsily, too far South, too late in the North, or that desegregation has gone out of style now that Title VI has neared the end of its first decade.

. . . No law that compels change on the scale of Title VI can hope for even a minute degree of public support unless there is a critical spotlight on its enforcement, a sensitivity to the objective of the law, and a sensitivity on the part of the government to the bounds of reason.

. . . During these past years we have picked up some major new enforcement responsibilities. The Office for Civil Rights enforces Executive Order 11246, which prohibits discrimination as to race, color, national origin, religion and sex by institutions receiving federal contracts. This year, we are also gearing up for enforcement of two new laws bearing on sex discrimination. One is Title IX of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972; the other is in Titles VII and VIII of the Comprehensive Health and Manpower Act.

For the moment, however, let's stick to Title VI. . . . I have always been concerned about the speed with which we are elevated to news prominence. . . . But more importantly – I am troubled by the telescoped kinds of headlines that greet our efforts. We are accustomed – or at least resigned – to the 30-second spot treatment on television news which warns the community that an ominous presence has come to town, and we realize that the brevity of headline space is unmerciful. But when the facts get telescoped or simply left out of the news story itself, a more serious problem arises.

The reason may be that the federal investigative effort is shielded by bureaucratic "no comments." This would represent a failure on our part to make our purpose and procedures clear, and I hope we can at least minimize this kind of problem in the future.

Once in a while though, we could all do with a better perspective. To illustrate what I mean, let's walk through a sample case together. Say, for example, that we believe – because of a complaint or from statistics given us by the school district – that some black pupils may be discriminatorily isolated. One of our 10 regional offices will want to investigate. A letter goes to the school superintendent asking for an appointment. Our team arrives in town.

Click go the cameras. Mumble Mumble goes the investigator, who knows deep in his heart that nobody ever got fired for failure to talk to a news reporter. Out the back door goes the local school superintendent, who hardly knows what's happening at this point anyway. School board members suddenly cannot be reached by news reporters. The reporter, reduced to dependence on memory or some complex legal document, recalls only that Title VI carries the threat of cutoff of federal funds.

Bam goes the headline: "Feds arrive, Walla Walla Stands To Lose Funds." Ladies and Gentlemen, you've got the cart before the horse!

All we are really doing at this point, aside from scaring

hell out of a once-tranquil community, is gathering some very basic data. Where are the students? How are they assigned to the schools they attend? Were attendance zones gerrymandered? What about facilities? Curriculum? Guidance and counseling? Teaching? Does punishment for misbehavior fall with a heavier hand on black pupils?

We may collect a truckload of attendance maps, board minutes, interview notes, employment rolls, statistics, policy statements, the whole works. Our staff members go home to talk to each other, compare notes, go tediously through all the files, write reports, consult with attorneys, with supervisors, and schedule other investigations. All this takes months. They catch colds, go on vacation, and get yanked off on other assignments.

Meanwhile, back in the old hometown the PTA has come alive. Once-dormant civic organizations throw away their gardening tools and demand free time on television. Confused parents write the President, the congressman, the senator, the secretary of HEW. Adrenalin flows. All hell breaks loose. And we don't even know at this point if there is a problem except the one we created by our presence.

But our investigative staff is now beginning to form some conclusions. They draft a report, rewrite it, double-check facts, or get sent back by their supervisors to fill in the gaps. Finally we report to the school district on our findings. Assume we find discrimination and we lay out the facts in our report and ask the superintendent what he's going to do about it.

We state that if corrective action is not taken, legal sanctions *may* be necessary. But cold legal documents don't tell you what the community needs to know: In most of our cases, negotiation has settled matters without the necessity of legal action.

Voluntary compliance is far more common than enforcement. Even after a notice of hearing goes out to a non-complying district, negotiations can continue and legal action be dropped at any time compliance is achieved.

The odds are always heavily in favor of voluntary compliance, and that's the fact we'd like to get across early. Much of the alarm is unnecessary if we do our job and help you do yours.

Our regional offices will be encouraged to explain to you what we are doing, the status of the case, how the law is applied and our efforts to secure voluntary compliance. More importantly, we want the community to understand that Title VI, by its very nature, assures due process. Suppose we take a school district to hearing, after exhausting every possible means to get voluntary compliance?

First, the Civil Service Commission names a Federal Administrative Law Judge, a date is set, and he holds a hearing – about 60 days after we've started the hearing process. If he finds the school district in violation of Title VI, he recommends termination of federal funds. Again, the headlines, because the prospect of loss of funds cannot be ignored, but it can be and should be accompanied by other facts. The school district has the right to appeal an adverse decision to a Reviewing Authority, a five-man panel of law professors or lawyers from outside HEW. . . . If they concur that there is a violation, after weeks or months of review, the school district still has further recourse. It can appeal the two earlier decisions to the secretary of HEW, who, if he elects to do so, must have time to review the whole case. If he agrees with the two previous findings, isn't that the time at last to announce the loss of funds? No, not yet. The secretary is required by law to give 30 days' notice to Congress, then the cutoff goes into effect – unless the school district goes to court to challenge the Administrative decision, which has happened. By this time, incidentally, the tenth-grade student who read about HEW's presence at the school board office that first day may well have graduated.

. . . Throughout the history of the enforcement of Title VI, this agency has initiated hearing procedures against some 600 school districts. Of that number, only 200 had their funds terminated. All have had their funds restored because they came into compliance voluntarily or under court order. There is only one district today with funds cut off. In fact, at the peak of massive Southern resistance, there were never more than about 125 school districts with funds terminated at one time. Yet you could count the cases we have lost on one hand. Most were settled by voluntary action. We still find it necessary at times to go to hearing. . . .

Let me focus for a moment on a school district that didn't go to hearing, that faced a serious problem in the educational opportunity for its minority students, and came up with a landmark solution. Last August, we concluded negotiations with the El Paso Independent School District in Texas. In June, our Dallas regional office had notified El Paso school officials that they must extend equal educational services to Spanish-surnamed students, to comply with Title VI. The district came up with a voluntary plan to convert all its schools from kindergarten through eighth grade to a bilingual, bicultural education program over a five-year period. . . . We have negotiated other plans for dealing with the language barrier in smaller districts. But El Paso is the first large American city to undertake an aggressive program to provide equal, quality education to thousands of students from Spanish-speaking homes.

We are also about to undertake a similar kind of review in New York City, looking at problems relating to the provision of equal educational services to Puerto Rican children. . . .

. . . In my opinion the objective of our enforcement programs has for too long been viewed by the press and public as the termination of federal financial assistance. That is *not* the objective of our efforts. Our objective is the elimination of discrimination from federally assisted programs so that all individuals, regardless of race, color, national origin or sex, may participate equally in those programs.

I appeal to you to begin now what you should have done years ago: measure the effectiveness of our enforcement program in terms of equal opportunity achieved and discrimination eliminated; not in terms of federal funds denied. In 1973, that does not seem like much to ask.

Chapter 5

Getting Help from Outside

It is hard to believe at a time of sociologists' doubts about desegregation and politicians' attacks on it, but there are people who are promoting it in a concrete way. Many of these people provide a product or service which can be used by school districts wishing to desegregate.

Consultants have been hired by the state or with federal money or both to help districts work out plans, train teachers and change their curriculum and even the school structure itself. These consultants, in turn, can suggest nonprofit or for-profit organizations which have varying degrees of expertise with the process of desegregation and education.

Consultants can be found in:

- 10 regional offices of the U.S. Office of Education (See list on p. 91.)
- 32 equal educational opportunity programs lodged in the state departments of education (See list on p. 92.)
- 17 university school desegregation centers funded under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (See list on p. 94).

In addition, a number of other organizations are willing and able to provide information on desegregation and education. The list on p. 95 is not comprehensive, but it may provide a starting place for the local superintendent or board.

Help Available at the Federal Level

The single most important tool for most school districts which can be provided by Washington is money, most superintendents and board members will agree. The guidelines for sharing in the Emergency School Assistance Act are included on p. 79. And descriptions of the four types of grants available under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are found on p. 90.

But what many school officials do not seem to realize is that for all their talk against busing, congressmen and senators in Washington are in a jam if they refuse to help a school district which wants to desegregate or must desegregate.

There are, of course, limits to what a man of Congress can do at HEW. At the very least, he can demand a status report on how a district's application for money is going. At the most, he can call an HEW official to his office to find out why something is not happening, and he may be able to exert pressure to ease a bureaucratic logjam or to gain a speedy interpretation of a difficult guideline.

Help Available at the State Level

While school desegregation is a constantly changing situation due to the actions of state school superintendents and state legislators, some states are well known for either their laws requiring school desegregation or the aid they provide to help desegregating districts or both.

Pennsylvania provides a good example of a state which requires school desegregation, enforced through the state's Human Relations Commission. At the same time, the state assists school districts which are desegregating. The need for current information is being met by a weekly publication of the Pennsylvania School Boards Assn., *Information Legislative Service.* Part 14 of the Mondale hearings details the Pennsylvania experience well.

Massachusetts is another state which requires desegregated school systems, with the state superintendent in charge.

Connecticut aided some urban school districts which worked out voluntary plans with neighboring suburbs, by funneling money into the projects.

Chapter 6

Whither Desegregation in the '70s? A Local Burden

There are no statistics available on who spoke out in favor of desegregation in 1972, and there is no easy way to chart a trend into the future. Some informed observers express pessimism. One overworked expert at a regional desegregation center aimed his critical view of the situation at some administrators: "School superintendents like to hide in a crowd on the desegregation issue, but there are few of them who will take a forthright stand on their own." Others say: "Don't blame the school administrator alone"; most of the rest of the world seems to have thrown the big yellow bus into reverse and backed away.

What has been ignored or not given enough attention, however, is the way many individual superintendents and boards have demonstrated leadership on the race/schools issue. Some superintendents are worried that the current busing furor can undo some good that has been achieved in recent years; many are putting themselves on the line for school desegregation, echoing or outdoing the two resolutions on race relations and school integration adopted by AASA members at their 1973 convention.

AASA said in part:

> Superintendents have an affirmative responsibility to provide the leadership, not only to desegregate schools but also to integrate teaching staffs, curriculum and activities.
>
> AASA supports the busing of students as one necessary means of correcting racial and economic isolation, and commends the use of federal, state and local funding for this purpose.

The resolutions said, however, that it was legitimate to oppose "precise and complex plans which seek to achieve exact mathematical balance of races irrespective of defensible educational and practical considerations." Thus, there was a hedge in the 1973 stand. But it was on the whole a pro-busing position.

Individuals Speak Out

At the same convention where the group position was taken, individuals spoke out, too. "If we're going to integrate the inner city, I see no alternative to busing," said Elbert D. Brooks, superintendent of the Nashville, Tenn., schools. While it may not be the best way to achieve integration, it is the only way that works so far, and will be as long as schools remain the "scapegoat" for the other racial problems of housing and job discrimination, Brooks added.

Russell A. Jackson Jr., superintendent of Roosevelt School District 66 in Phoenix, Ariz., approached the problem a different way – by questioning the recent emphasis by anti-integration forces on "neighborhood schools." Such schools have some real advantages, but they "have not provided quality education for many minority children," he said. He posed the ultimate puzzle for school superintendents by noting that although most Americans do not favor the maintenance of two separate societies, most do not realize that the school bus happens to be one of the few means to travel the distance between those societies today.

Meanwhile, the pressures of desegregation are moving increasingly toward the Northern and urban areas and away from the Southern dual-school systems. In the South, a surprising number of school districts have desegregated to meet the demands of federal court orders or to meet the demands of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act under the threat of federal fund cutoffs by HEW (although Title VI was essentially abandoned in 1970). While big-city districts in the South like Atlanta and Richmond struggle to meet desegregation demands, the real opposition to desegregation and the real battlefield is much more in the North. Consequently, Southern school superintendents are increasingly vocal in what they see as a double standard: National policy favored desegregation

when the South was the legal target, but backs away when Northern schools are at issue.

Cyril B. Busbee, state superintendent of education in South Carolina, flatly says it is foolish to ask or expect a "moratorium on all busing." He told AASA members in 1973 that problems still plague desegregated Southern districts, from white flight to teacher loss to segregated academies. "Still, our governmental leaders and most of our citizens and students maintain unkillable faith in the fact that public education is the wellspring of America's greatness," Busbee said.

But he also noted with some asperity that "we also have faith that any law of the land should be firmly and fairly applied nationwide. Any so-called moratorium on 'new' busing could now smack of regional discrimination, and I know a number of superintendents of education who will gladly applaud equal protection under our laws."

Court Decisions Are Forthcoming

Some observers predict that superintendents will be dealing in an atmosphere of legal and political uncertainty into the mid-1970s. In early 1973, superintendents, the Nixon Administration, civil rights groups and parents were still awaiting the Supreme Court decision on the Denver case. This decision, school lawyers agreed, would signal the lengths to which Northern school systems – those which had never been labeled "de jure" or dual systems in the past – could be made to take steps, including busing, to undo segregation. School administrators are hopeful that the kind of proof of discrimination, and the amount of state involvement to be shown in order to legally require an effective desegregation plan, would emerge from the Denver case. The debated question of what "de facto" segregation really means might finally be answered. Certainly, the Nixon Administration would favor a decision which would indicate a go-slow approach in desegregation orders. The Administration admittedly favors an attack on "economic discrimination" over more pupil transfers in schools as a way of meeting the race relations problem in the nation. In any event, it is possible that the Denver case *(Keys v. School District No. 1, Denver)* may come to mean for Northern schools what the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision meant for Southern schools.

Other decisions before the federal courts include those involving Richmond, Va. (before the Supreme Court) and Detroit, Mich. (before the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals). In each of these districts, lower courts have approved the merger of city districts with surrounding suburbs or rural counties for purposes of desegregating heavily black cities and the predominantly white surrounding communities. Known as "metro plan" cases, these, too, are on appeal. When they are finally decided by the higher courts, they could change the entire way school systems are viewed, both in the context of desegregation, and in the broader meaning of what constitutes the true boundaries of a school system, those set by communities at their borders, or those set by state or federal agencies or courts to implement educational policy goals. Generally speaking, the hard-pressed superintendents in big urban districts would like to share the resources, the predominantly white pupil enrollment and the teaching staff of nearby suburban school districts. The suburban superintendent, on the other hand, is under heavy pressure to retain autonomy if not complete disengagement from the generally disadvantaged inner-city system. "It is interesting to note," says the Mondale committee report, "that in both cases (Richmond and Detroit) the center city school district requested the joinder of its suburban neighbors."

The Mondale report says both metro cases rest on the theory that "once the state has been shown to have fostered school segregation directly, or indirectly through housing discrimination, the state can be required to take action, including consolidation of school districts created by state law. . . ."

The committee in early 1973 said the future of the metro decisions and their legal theories could not be predicted, "but what can be predicted is that courts are not the branch of government best equipped to deal with the extremely complex issues involved in breaking down racial and economic barriers within metropolitan areas in ways that do justice to the legitimate concerns of all involved." The report added:

> A court cannot offer subsidies to compensate suburban communities for increased costs, including educational costs, of serving low-income families or provide assistance to replace revenues lost through location of tax-free public housing units; a court is ill equipped to require that low-income housing be scatter-site, rather than in huge apartment projects or to implement the metropolitan planning needed to prevent some suburban communities from being swamped by low-income housing while others are untouched.

But if public officials at the local, federal and state levels refuse to act, the courts will be left to their own, and very limited devices.

The committee recommended federal financial support for voluntary multidistrict cooperative integration efforts, and "special incentives" voted by Congress for metropolitan planning. Some of this federal encouragement shows up in the ESAA guidelines, but its use is dependent almost entirely on the community and its leadership – including the superintendent.

Finally, another court suit would force HEW to resume enforcement of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, after a finding of fact that they had stopped using the fund cut-off provision as a means of requiring desegregation where discrimination had been proved. HEW has appealed the case; if HEW loses, superintendents will have an ally if and when they wish to desegregate their schools.

But if neither the Denver, nor the Detroit, nor the Richmond, nor the HEW case comes out in favor of integrationists, the true test of local school administrators will come into play. This will be especially true, informed observers say, if the political climate continues to grow against desegregation, aided by demagoguery of high-placed politicians and the sociological studies which minimize or discredit the value of integration. It is clear the uphill battle for citizen understanding and approval continues.

Accurate Information May Help

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is the one official body which has a mandate to oversee the equality of opportunity or lack of it in every phase of American life, and to prod the federal government into doing something about it. Concerned that loaded questions were being asked by pollsters, the commission conducted a survey of 2,006 statistically representative citizens in late 1972, asking neutral questions on both attitude and knowledge about busing and desegregation.

To their chagrin, the commission learned that 70% of those interviewed opposed busing for desegregation – although 67% said they favored integrated schools as a national objective. The irony of nearly the same number approving the ends but disapproving the means was not lost on the commission, but it said that additional data showed that one of the reasons for duplicity was ignorance on the subject. When asked what the law requires in busing, what percentage of children are already bused, whether busing or walking is safer, what effect desegregation has been shown to have on children's test scores, and two other questions, only 16% could answer four or more correctly while 41% got five or all six wrong.

"Too often public officials, educational leaders and members of the mass media have, unthinkingly, accepted the criticisms and passed on the slogans of busing opponents without troubling to examine the evidence," the commission concluded.

The commission's true-false questions, and their "right" answers, follow:

Q: The courts now require the busing of children from suburban school districts into central-city school districts.

A. FALSE – although lower courts in both Detroit and Richmond had ordered such busing. Some metropolitan areas like Hartford, Conn., have pursued it on a voluntary basis, however.

Q. Less than 1 out of 50 schoolchildren in the United States is being bused for purposes of desegregation.

A. TRUE, since recent U.S. figures show only about 1.2%, or about 1 in 80 schoolchildren is being bused for desegregation.

Q. White students' test scores have fallen sharply in desegregated schools.

A. FALSE, since even some of the sociologists who criticize busing state that nearly every study shows that white students do not lose; and according to some studies, some black students show modest gains when performances are matched between segregated and desegregated schools.

Q. As far as accidents are concerned, busing schoolchildren is safer than letting them walk.

A. TRUE, as the latest figures of the National Safety Council show: The accident rate for boys is .09% and for girls is .07% when walking, but only .03% for all children when riding buses.

Q. Busing for desegregation adds 25% or more to local school costs.

A. FALSE. The cost of busing for desegregation usually runs about 1% of a school board's budget.

Q. The Supreme Court has ordered busing in spite of evidence that it would harm a child's ability to learn.

A. FALSE. In the 1971 Charlotte, N.C., decision, the Supreme Court specifically said courts must consider whether the "time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process." They also said age counts as a factor.

By publishing the results of its survey, the commission helped to inform the public on the facts of the issue, but the facts are frequently forgotten in the heat and emotion of local school district debate on the issue. It is usually up to the superintendent to assure that such material is injected into public discussion, just as it is up to the superintendent to exercise many of the initiatives in the tender area of desegregation.

The 'Man in the Middle' Must Act

The urban school board and its superintendent feel the weight of racial isolation most deeply, and it is from the ranks of these men and women that the current leadership is emerging. It seems fitting, therefore, to close the report with some observations by Wayne Carle, superintendent of schools in Dayton, Ohio, who testified for desegregation before the Mondale committee.

Subsequently, Carle was denied a new contract by his school board in January 1973, reportedly because of his pro-integration stand. That didn't deter him, however, from joining with the minority of the school board in a plan providing for maximum integration in answer to a Federal District Court order. Meanwhile, majority members on the board were preparing a plan calling for minimum desegregation in answer to the order.

Carle, in testimony before the Mondale committee, said Ohio has more large cities than any other state (Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, Akron, Dayton, Youngstown and Canton, each a separate metropolitan area) and thus has "its abundant share of urban discrimination in housing, employment and education."

In discussing who must be responsible for doing something about discrimination in education, Carle said flatly: "Administrators should lead the way." And, he added, while waiting for desegregation, a lot of steps can be taken:

> If an integrated student body is technically difficult to achieve in some parts of Ohio – and I am willing to concede that [is the case] only in the most isolated areas – there is no reason for any school to be without integrated staff and instructional program replete with multiethnic materials, experience and emphases. For the very survival of our society the state of Ohio can afford to require no less.

Carle indicated who should be responsible for additional steps toward integration:

> Every teacher, every administrator, every parent and every pupil must assume responsibility for ending racial and economic isolation. The State Dept. of Education must lead the way by clarifying the legal mandate, establishing criteria, developing the curriculum standards and assuring the resources to end the inequities of segregated education in Ohio.

The problems of desegregation, of inequities in education, of racial isolation and of political resistance to solving the problems are not unique to Ohio or to Dayton. The words of Wayne Carle in talking of how to actually integrate schools would seem, in this era of "local responsibility," to hold true most everywhere:

> The process of desegregation and the practice of integration are not easy to accomplish, even though much is known about how to do it. It will take techniques, training and evangelism. . . .

Appendix

The A to Z of School Desegregation: Definitions

Ability grouping – Also known as "tracking." This process refers to the classification of pupils in homogeneous "intelligence" sections for purposes of instruction, based on teachers' assessments or standardized test results. A frequent result is to resegregate children by race in what might be an otherwise desegregated school facility. Ability grouping was outlawed by a federal district court in the case of the Washington, D.C., system.

Busing – On the face of it, the transportation of students between home and school by bus. In its most innocent context, schoolchildren have been using school transportation since 1869. By the year 1970, an estimated 20 million, or 40% of elementary and secondary public school students, were being bused because they lived too far to walk to the school they attended. Only 3% were bused due to desegregation. But the school bus has in recent years become a symbol of court-ordered desegregation, or a symbol of the transporting of children from their own neighborhood to another against the will of some or many parents involved, for purposes of desegregation. In this context, busing is often referred to as "forced busing."

Clustering – The method that combines three or more schools, any one or more of which may have been previously segregated, into desegregated facilities with different grade levels in each. Thus, two predominantly black schools and three white, each with grades K-8, in roughly the same area of town, might be reorganized to have five desegregated schools, two K-3, two with grades 4-6, and one with grades 7 and 8. It is similar to the "pairing" concept.

De facto segregation – A separation of students by race which the law recognizes as having happened either by sheer accident or because of housing patterns, with no local or state action responsible for the separation. It is often referred to as "Northern" segregation. So far, the Supreme Court has not interpreted the Constitution of the United States to require the desegregation of de facto segregated schools. However, the legal definition of de facto segregation has narrowed somewhat in recent years, as state and U.S. district courts in Los Angeles and Denver and elsewhere have ruled that past official state or school board acts, past officials acts of commission or omission by states or school boards have fostered segregation.

De jure segregation – Although frequently equated with "Southern" segregation in the 17 Southern and border states, de jure segregation in fact refers to any separation of students by race which results from official school board, city or state action. The fact that the Southern states once maintained a dual school system, one for whites and another for blacks, created illegal, unconstitutional de jure segregation in the eyes of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954. In 1955, the Supreme Court ruled that such segregation must be undone "with all deliberate speed." More recently, in a Ferndale, Mich., case, a federal court has ruled that a Northern district which deliberately isolated a black school by board action in the 1920s was also a de jure segregated district, and therefore obliged to desegregate.

Desegregation – In practice, a complex social and political process of reassigning pupils and teachers in order to end racial or ethnic isolation in the public schools. Legally it is achieved when a school system no longer has schools racially identifiable as "white schools," "black schools," or "brown schools," but – in the words of the 1968 U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Green* case – "just schools." Techniques and the amount of pupil reassignment vary with the court or government agency requiring desegregation, and with the size and makeup of the school district. The most complete desegregation is generally said to exist when the racial balance in each school matches the racial composition of the total school community.

Integration – There is no universal agreement on the difference between desegregation and integration, and the two words are used interchangeably by many in both the social sciences and education. But there is a growing consensus that integration is more than the reassignment of students, and includes the further steps needed to reach the potential of equal educational opportunity and interracial social contact in the school. "The process of integrated education may be said to begin where desegregation ends," announces the preface to a desegregation-integration handbook distributed by USOE.

Majority-to-minority transfer – The process by which students who are enrolled in schools in which their race is in the majority may transfer to any school (in the same district) where their race is in the minority. Usually, the school district is obliged to provide transportation. The result can be a voluntary leveling of racial imbalances between schools.

Neighborhood school – Like "busing," a term which has overtones of resistance to desegregation. In many Southern school districts where housing segregation is not as much a factor as in the North, housing meant segregation for years, and the neighborhood school has since come to mean desegregation. But the predominant meaning is one of preserving a racially homogeneous school near the home of the student whose parent is promoting neighborhood schools.

Noncontiguous zones – At face value these are geographic attendance zones which are not adjacent to one another within a given district. In fact, a pupil living within one zone who must attend school in a noncontiguous zone to achieve desegregation, will require transportation. Thus, to some administrators and federal officials familiar with the term, noncontiguous zoning is equated with "busing."

Open enrollment – A passive policy of permitting parents to choose any school within a district for their children to attend. In the North, it is frequently the first hesitant step taken by a desegregating school district; in the South, it was the predominant form of desegregation under the appellation of "freedom of choice." However, the Supreme Court said in 1968 that it was permissible as a remedy for de jure segregation only if it worked. Because open enrollment or open transfer puts the entire burden of desegregation on the parents and children rather than on the school district itself, it is only as successful as an activist community can make it. It is rarely if ever the plan of choice of either HEW or the federal judiciary.

Pairing – A method of desegregating two schools, one predominantly white, the other minority, which serve the same grades. Instead of both schools containing grades K-6, after pairing one school might have grades K-3 and the other grades 4-6, with students drawn from the former attendance zones of both schools. Both schools would share the white and minority populations of the enlarged zone. This means of desegregation is more frequently used where two comparable schools are located within a relatively short distance of each other; but in urban systems, schools in noncontiguous zones are also paired, requiring transportation.

Racial balance – A requirement that the racial makeup of each school in a district equal or approximate the racial composition of the entire community. Thus, if a town's school population is 75% white and 25% black, each school might have to have somewhere between 20% to 30% black student enrollment. Similarly, if 15% of a system's teachers are black and 10% are Spanish-surnamed, each school staff would have to have the approximate same percentages. Although some courts have ordered racial balance as a remedy, it is not a legal end in itself, since the Constitution does not require racial balance, only the end to discrimination, according to Supreme Court rulings.

School closing – Frequently a part of a larger desegregation plan, the closing of a school and the redistribution of its student body into other schools not of the same racial makeup is one way to change the racial identity of schools. To the extent that "Negro" or "Mexican American" schools are the ones closed to the exclusion of "white" schools, school closings are increasingly unpopular among minority communities on grounds that the choice of schools to be closed is too often discriminatory.

Zoning – The placement of school attendance boundaries to include both majority and minority race children in every possible school. Sometimes zones need merely to be enlarged to embrace the living area of the children needed to achieve desegregation and, at other times, lines must be redrawn in unusual patterns to reach residential pockets of one race or another. Since the simple drawing of zone lines is based on existing residential patterns and needs no manipulation of grade structure (pairing and clustering) or of the children themselves (noncontiguous zones, busing), it is considered the most stable method of desegregation – when it will suffice to do the job.

ESAA Guidelines: The Roadmap To Integration Aid

Perhaps the most important aspect of the new desegregation assistance law, the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), is that schools which are trying on a *voluntary basis,* to desegregate, or eliminate, reduce or prevent minority group isolation, are eligible for funds. Under the earlier Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP), only those districts desegregating under court order or administrative agency order could ask for and receive federal dollars to ease the burden of desegregation.

The purposes of grants under the new law are to:

1. Meet the special needs incident to the elimination of minority group segregation and discrimination among students and faculty in elementary and secondary schools.

2. Eliminate, reduce or prevent minority group isolation in elementary or secondary schools with substantial portions of minority group students.

3. Aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation.

Who Gets in Line?

Eligibility for aid includes districts implementing desegregation plans required by federal or state orders or state administrative agencies, or approved by HEW under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act: in other words, if someone says you have to desegregate, the government will help. In addition, there are carefully worded rules permitting aid to districts implementing nonrequired plans, too.

A voluntary, nonrequired plan district may apply if its desegregation plan:

1. Eliminates completely minority group isolation in all schools in the district which exceed 50% minority group enrollment (as defined by the act).

2. Eliminates minority group isolation in one or more of the minority group isolated schools, or reduces the total number of minority group children in isolated schools – again, with 50% minority enrollment in a given school spelling the difference between "isolation" and "elimination of minority group isolation."

3. Prevents isolation "reasonably likely to occur" in any school ranging from 20% to 50% minority enrollment. (Intended to slow the "tipping" phenomenon.)

4. Enrolls and educates nonresident children in order to "make a significant contribution toward reducing minority group isolation" in either the sending or receiving school district. At least 25 children must be involved. (Encourages urban-suburban cooperation.) Furthermore, these kinds of nonrequired plans may be continued upon receipt of assistance under ESEA.

In all cases, a school board applying for assistance must provide proof of the official action adopting the plans, by supplying the U.S. Office of Education with a school board resolution or other official implementing document, the desegregation plan itself, and a statement of how the plan relates to the program for which funding is sought. Where implementation is contingent upon funding, the plan must have been made public at least 20 days prior to application.

Nonpublic schools may qualify for provision of services through the local public school district in a manner similar to that of ESEA, Title I. However, such nonpublic schools must show desegregation efforts or minority group related needs.

How the Money Can Be Spent

Authorized activities for which *"basic grants"* can be used are under 12 headings; in each case, a connection must be made with the plan which made the school district eligible in the first place. Even public relations is ok!

Activities which can be funded under ESAA grants:

1. Remedial services, including student-to-student tutoring, even when aimed at gifted children, as long as they are beyond the programs already existing in the district.

2. Additional staff specially trained in desegregation or reduction of minority group isolation, both hiring and training.

3. Teacher aides, both hiring and training (with preference given to parents of children assisted by ESAA).

4. Inservice teacher training by colleges or other agencies.

5. Guidance, counseling and other services to children.

6. Development of new curricula and materials, including instruction in language and heritage of minority groups.

7. Programs of shared facilities, for career education or other specialties.

8. Innovative interracial programs between schools, including extracurricular activities, in the same or different school districts.

9. Community activities, including public information efforts in support of a plan or activity described in the ESAA law.

10. Administrative and auxiliary services to "facilitate the success" of the program.

11. Planning, evaluation or information dissemination relating to the program to be funded.

12. Remodeling, repair or replacement of facilities and equipment, and the lease or purchase of mobile classroom units. (But limited to 10% of grant, and not for construction, structural alteration or "large-scale renovation.")

What the District Promises in Return

The application itself for an ESAA grant is replete with various strings and assurances. Among the promises a school district must make are that money being sought under ESAA is not going to supplant other funds from nonfederal sources and will not be used for some other program other than for any under the earlier ESAP which was underway in the year prior to application. In other words the applied-for funds must be above and beyond normal funding, must be money unavailable from other sources, must be used for a brand new program. And the new program must fall within the eligibility and authorized activity rules. It must be used for a program dealing with those problems upon which the district based its eligibility. In addition, a district cannot reduce its current fiscal efforts (taxes) in per-pupil expenses or general education expenses.

Another assurance extracted by the guidelines is that the school district will cooperate in the *evaluation* of plans or any specific projects. Officials might have to keep records, provide control groups or control schools for tests, or submit to questionnaires and "other evaluation instruments."

Some promises would seem to be common sense: such as those *prohibiting* funds used for "*religious* worship" or *coordinating* ESAA programs with *other federal programs* like the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and with the old desegregation assistance programs under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But they are spelled out, anyway.

Districts must promise a goodly number of *reports and records,* as part of public accountability, including evidence of progress toward program goals, standard achievement test data and the like. All must be available to the public at minimal or no charge. Some required reports show the influence of the Mondale committee's concerns, including those reporting on *transfers of property* (to assure that segregation academies are not being helped by public school districts), *personnel actions, pupil assignment and ability grouping,* and *suspension and other discipline* (all to guard against various forms of blatant or subtle discrimination).

Can a District Receive Money for Pupil Transportation?

Other clauses seek to prevent faculty discrimination, tracking or language discrimination, but one is the direct result of Congressional ire on the subject and is not intended to aid in desegregation: it relates to pupil *transportation* (or "busing," in political terms), and it is reproduced in its entirety:

> *Transportation.* An assurance that no funds made available under ESAA will be used for the transportation of students or teachers (or for the purchase of equipment for such transportation) in order to overcome racial imbalance or to carry out a plan for racial desegregation, when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk the health of the children involved or significantly impinge on the educational process of such children, or where the educational opportunities available at the school to which it is proposed that any such student be transported will be substantially inferior to those opportunities offered at the school to which such student would otherwise be assigned under a nondiscriminatory system of school assignments based on geographic zones established without discrimination on account of race, religion, color or national origin.

While this is not a flat prohibition against using money for busing under any circumstances, it is at least severely restricting as to when money can be used for busing, and rules out among other busing situations, those where white students would be bused into a black school which a school board might consider "substantially inferior." However, the act does not prevent a district from busing to achieve racial balance, if the decision to do so is reached voluntarily and on the local level.

Choosing the Winners

The *criteria* used by USOE in awarding the money really constitute the heart of the ESAA

program, once an eligible school district has made a proper application with all the appropriate promises. And, while the primary basis for making awards is said in the *regulations* to be "objective criteria," all the objectivity in the world could not keep them from being controversial. Grants are made on the basis of points which are awarded for the need demonstrated for the money, and the likely success in reducing minority group isolation.

(The complex system of points immediately drew complaints from a Congressman, who said that a poor program involving a large amount of pupil transfer could be favored over a high-quality program involving little transfer, and from the Washington Research Project, a civil rights group, which said that too much emphasis was put on academic programs which are easily measured by standardized tests. The Project wanted other aspects of desegregation given higher priority.)

In terms of actually handing out the money, Washington will take into account how much new money a school district needs, compared with other districts in its state, and will award money under the point system, with each applicant district in a given state competing with other applicant districts until the specific amount set aside for that state runs out.

Relative Weight: The USOE Point System

I. Objective criteria (90 points)

A. Number and percentage of minority group students, compared with other districts in the state.	30
B. Net reduction in minority group isolation, as measured by numbers of students placed in nonracially or less racially isolated schools.	60
	90

II. Educational and Programmatic criteria (45 points)

A. Needs assessment; what are the needs and how severe are they? – plus substantive data to support these needs.	6
B. State of objectives; how specific, realistic, and community-involved.	6
C. Activities	
–Project design; concentrated, intensive and individualized instruction to promote growth in racial understanding.	11
–Staffing; use and training of existing staff.	3
–Logistics and delivery of services.	3
–Parent and community involvement; how much and evidence that it did involve parents and community before application.	4
	21
D. Resource management; how wisely the funds will be used, how related to existing programs, how little new equipment needed.	6
E. Evaluation; how objective the measures, precise the timetable and careful the match against outside standards.	6
	45

Once the Money Is in Hand: More Rules

The detailed rules which must be followed by funded school districts are the result of some hard and even bitter experience with two decades of desegregation attempts. Thus, there are rules about when one should and when one cannot get involved with *private schools;* how there should *not* be *faculty discrimination, classroom segregation* within a desegregated building, or acts of any kind which are *discriminatory toward children,* within a desegregated school.

But perhaps the most interesting are the rules demanding various *advisory* groups, to assure that the community and even the students have a say-so in planning for ESAA fund use. Advisory groups are required before a project is funded. As HEW officials describe the rules, there must be "broadly representative" committees of parents, teachers and students. And at least one public hearing must be held.

Some advisory committee rules:

1. A districtwide advisory committee must have at least 10 days to review the district's application, even before it is sent to Washington.

2. Seven or more days before submitting the application, a public hearing must be held with the committee and other interested parties involved, and five days before the hearing, it must be advertised in a general circulation newspaper, and proof of both hearing and advertisement must accompany the application.

3. At least five civic or community organizations which, taken together, are, "broadly representative of the minority and nonminority communities," select a member of the committee. Other members include a white teacher and one teacher for each minority group substantially present on the faculty. The committee must have equal numbers of each racial group or ethnic group involved in the community, and one-half must be made up of parents of students to be involved in the program. Student members must include at least one representative from each racial or ethnic group.

4. After the award, the committee's meeting must be advertised and held monthly and publicly. No amendments are to be made to the application or plan without committee comment.

5. Student advisory committees are to be set up within 15 days of approval of funding, at each high school involved in the funded programs, selected by student bodies or student governments on a multiracial basis with equal members of each racial group and consulted periodically by the school district.

Making the Best of Isolation: Another Program

Under a "Pilot Projects" section, the law provides for aid to districts with at least 15,000 minority students, or where minorities constitute over 50% of the school population, to fund "unusually *promising and innovative* pilot programs or projects specially designed to overcome the adverse effects of minority group isolation. . . ."

Funds may also be approved for a plan which creates in a district with more than 50% minority-group students, one or more "integrated schools," with at least 40% of the children from above-median income families or at least 50% of the children at or above the 60th percentile in reading.

Activities authorized in this section "shall be directed toward improving the academic achievement of children in minority group isolated schools, particularly in the basic areas of reading and mathematics," the guidelines say. These would include remedial services, teacher aides, new curricula and the like, which would "bear directly on classroom performance," but "other, indirect approaches which offer unusual promise" will be considered.

The *criteria* for funding these special projects are the same as for the general grant program, except that special emphasis is put on needs assessment and evaluation design; on the spin-off effect to other schools and even other school districts; and how carefully the district plans to spend any money it might receive.

Non-School Groups Can Apply for Funds

Public or nonprofit private organizations outside the school system but inside the community can apply for and receive ESAA funds to "support the development or implementation of a plan or project" carried on by the school system under the act. Examples of the sort of organization are not provided, but the activities for which they can apply for funds suggest counseling, social work, preschool, recreational and human relations organizations would be eligible.

Twelve activities that are all right for *non-school funding:*

1. Remedial services to supplement those provided by the school district, including tutoring.

2. Career orientation educational programs not offered by school district.

3. Innovative interracial enrichment programs, bringing children and parents from different schools and different races together.

4. Community activities, including public information and parent involvement programs related to the plan.

5. Administrative and auxiliary services, supporting the school district, when required.

6. Programs to prepare preschoolers and school-age children for desegregation.

7. Programs to deal with dropouts, suspensions, academic failures and other possible results of desegregation.

8. Interracial programs directed at social and recreational needs springing out of desegregation.

9. Cultural enrichment for both children and parents.

10. "Home-focused" projects to enrich the educational atmosphere of children involved in the school plan, including home reading for parents and children, and school-related family activities.

11. General assistance or support at school district request.

12. Other special programs of merit to make "substantial progress" toward the aims of the act. Only the imagination of the applicant and the approval of the HEW assistant secretary for education limit this activity.

More promises have to be made in these applications, along with those the school system made, including coordination with the school district and other nonprofit agencies.

More criteria and point systems are detailed, and are similar to those for the basic grant program for school districts, except that "objective criteria" are de-emphasized to match the educational and programmatic.

More ESAA Guidelines from USOE: Goodies on Strings

The second set of regulations governing the distribution of desegregation aid was released in March 1973 and covered the funding of metropolitan area projects, bilingual projects, the use of educational television projects, evaluation, and "special projects," a catchall section which includes reading projects. The two sets of regulations convey two strong overall impressions of which the school superintendent or board must be aware:

Any school board which wants to apply for a grant under ESAA should, as a preliminary step, have its attorney obtain and read the regulations. Some of the language is lawyer-like enough, and with enough cross references that a trained eye will best be able to see possibilities for assistance or constraints against application.

Many of the criteria for assistance are like those of the first set of rules, that is, with points awarded for need, for net reduction of isolation, for project design. This summary will only attempt to highlight some of the salient features in each program to alert readers to some particular opportunities or restrictions. Again, copies of the regulations should be obtained and read by a trained regulation-reader for best results. They are available through USOE regional offices.

Metropolitan Area Projects

This section is designed to aid (1) interdistrict transfers between districts which have below-average number of minorities and those with a higher number of minorities; (2) area-wide plans to reduce racial isolation through joint cooperative efforts; and (3) integrated education parks. All these metropolitan area projects must be conducted within a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA).

Interdistrict Transfers

The basic ground rule here is that a district with a low-minority enrollment enroll minority group students from a district with high minority group enrollment to create "one or more integrated schools." The integrated school must have at least 40% of the children from higher-than-median income families (when compared with the median of the applicant district, the SMSA or the nation, whichever is lowest); or have at least 50% of the students score at or above the 60th percentile on reading; must have a minority-group enrollment which is at least 50% of the minority group proportion of all schools in the SMSA and in no event more than 50% minority, and must have a faculty in which the proportion of minority group teachers is equal to or greater than the proportion of minority group students. The presumption is that minority students would be brought from an inner-city, racially isolated school to an integrated

suburban school, but the arrangement cannot leave any of the inner-city schools more isolated than they were before the transfer.

The criteria for transfer programs divide 75 points for statistical criteria and 30 for educational and programmatic criteria, thus:

I. Statistical (75 points)		
A. Need: number and percent of minority children in the sending district cooperating with applicant (the receiving district).	30	
B. Reduction of isolation: number of minority group children removed from minority group isolated schools.	45	
		75
II. Educational and Programmatic (30 points)		
A. Statement of objectives: degree to which specific measurable objectives are proposed and the promise for success. Makes specific mention of private school use.	6	
B. Activities		
–Project design with emphasis on student involvement of all races; individualized instruction; and interracial/intercultural understanding.	5	
–Staffing.	3	
–Services delivery involving extracurricular activities.	5	
–Parent involvement.	4	
	17	
C. Resource management.	3	
D. Evaluation.	4	
		30

Area-Wide Plans

Two-thirds of the districts in an SMSA, which must enroll two-thirds of the pupils in the SMSA, must approve the project. The project must show how, by some date prior to July 1, 1983, the minority children shall have been redistributed so that *each* school in the SMSA shall have a percentage of minorities at least equal to half the percentage of minority enrollment in the SMSA. Thus, if an SMSA is 30% black, each school in the area should be at least 15% black before the deadline, and the applicant districts "shall specify in detail the means by which such objective is to be achieved."

The funding criteria divide 60-30 on statistical and programmatic bases, thus:

I. Statistical (60 points)		
A. Need (Number and percent of minority-group students in all schools in the SMSA).	30	
B. Isolation reduction.	30	
		60
II. Educational and Programmatic (30 points)		
A. Statement of objectives. (See description under Metropolitan Area Projects.)	6	
B. Activities		
–Project design which includes a demographic study forecasting housing patterns and involvement of zoning and other agencies.	10	
–Staffing.	2	
–Parent and community involvement.	7	
	19	
C. Resource management.	2	
D. Evaluation.	3	
		30

Education Parks

This is a project which may be undertaken by one or more districts within an SMSA. The money available from ESAA can be used only for "planning" (e.g., demographic surveys, site selection,

academic achievement studies and standard-setting, and parental involvement), *not* for the purchase or preparation of a site or the construction itself.

The definition of an integrated education park is given as a school or cluster of schools on a common site:

- Within an SMSA.
- In which at least 5,000 students are enrolled.
- Providing secondary education.
- Integrated with at least 40% of the students from families with above median income or 50% of the students at the 60th percentile in reading and with minority group enrollment at least 50% of the SMSA minority proportion and not to exceed 50% minority (except where a single district applies in which case the proportion of minority enrollment must be at least 50% of the minority enrollment in the district).
- Integrated faculty in which the proportion of minority group teachers is equal to or greater than the proportion of minority group students.

The criteria for assistance breaks down 65-35:

I. Statistical (65 points)	
A. Need: involves number and percentage of secondary school minority children only.	30
B. Transfers: number and percentage of minority secondary students now in isolated secondary schools which will be incorporated into the proposed park.	35
	65
II. Educational and programmatic (35 points)	
A. Needs assessment: How much community participation, data gathering for assessment, and coordination with other planning activities of the applicant.	6
B. Statement of objectives. (See description under Metropolitan Area Projects.)	5
C. Activities	
–Project design including accessible location to minorities and nonminorities; participation of students and teachers; and logical planning sequence.	6
–Staffing.	4
–Community and parent involvement.	7
	17
D. Resource management.	2
E. Evaluation.	5
	35

Advisory Committees Required

All of the Metropolitan Area Projects require the use of advisory committees. The interdistrict transfer program must involve both the communities within the receiving or applicant district and the sending or cooperating district. Students involved in the advisory committee must represent equally those regularly enrolled in the receiving school and those transferred from the sending district.

In the area-wide plans and the education parks, the communities involved are those throughout the SMSA to be serviced or the district(s) from which the park enrollment is drawn. Students and faculty must be selected from each applicant agency, up to six student members and six faculty members on a committee.

Bilingual Projects

A bilingual program is designed "to meet the special educational needs of minority-group children who are from environments in which a dominant language is other than English" both so they can read, write and speak better in their own language and in English and so they can understand better their own history and cultural background. Five interesting points are made in the regulations' discussion of eligibility and authorized activities:

- Nonprofit agencies other than school districts can receive aid to develop bilingual programs and curricula, as long as they can prove the

school district requested the services of such agency or organization or institution.

- While bilingual programs are usually thought of as designed for Spanish-surnamed or Portuguese or Oriental children, in fact, children from any ethnic group are eligible for aid if OE finds that "such group has been denied equal educational opportunity because of language barriers and cultural differences."

  The language represents a rare bow in the direction of the so-called "ethnics" – Italians, Poles, Slavs and others – even if they do not wish to take advantage.

- An ethnic plan, which involves minority groups other than those involved in the act, is not eligible "if it results in any increase in minority group isolation" for the minorities defined in the act. In other words, an Italian bilingual project cannot be used as a racially segregating device and receive federal aid, too.

- No more than 25% of funds awarded can go for "developmental" activities. Most of it must go for the actual implementation of the developed or existing programs and for teacher training.

- Detailed figures must be given on how minority children are separated from nonminorities for bilingual projects: how many; for how long; why; whether ability grouping results; how ability grouping is justified if it occurs; and why different textbook levels are used if this is the case. (These regulations are all meant to overcome complaints that Chicanos and other minorities are put into slower "tracks," sometimes even in classes for retarded children when their language problems impeded their learning.)

The criteria for assistance in bilingual education projects are similar to many for other projects, except that language, not race is the operating area of change. The use of the word "objective" recurs, and such criteria are worth 60 points, compared with 55 for educational and programmatic criteria.

I. Objective (60 points)

A. Need: number and percentage of minority children "who are from environments in which a dominant language is other than English." 30

B. Reduction of isolation. 30

60

II. Educational and programmatic (55 points)

A. Needs assessment: severity of needs as demonstrated by achievement testing. 10

B. Statement of objectives. (See description under Metropolitan Area Projects.) 6

C. Activities

–Project design, which includes the degree of narrow, intensive, individualized help, the extent of innovation in spreading bilingual arts through the curriculum in an integrated setting, and student participation in planning. 12

–Staffing, including the use of paraprofessionals. 10

–Delivery of services. 2

–Parent and community involvement. 4

28

D. Resource management. 5

E. Evaluation: makes a special point of assessing the validity of testing instruments "when used to evaluate the language skills, academic aptitude or general intelligence of children whose primary language is other than English." (Again, this criteria is aimed toward responding to complaints that culture-skewed tests were used previously to "track" non-English-speaking students into low-ability groups.) 6

55

Advisory Committees

Some special instructions for program or project boards for bilingual projects apply to both school districts and to the nonprofit, private agency

applicants. In addition to the rules concerning advisory committees for basic grants, two administrators or school board members must be members of the board (one of whom must represent the minority group to be served by the project); half the committee must be parents of children affected by the plan; and half the committee must be members of the minority group to be served.

Nonprofit, private applicants must form such a program or project board in a slightly different manner and must show how such a board will exercise policy-making authority over the program. Like the makeup of the advisory committees to the school district, at least 50% of the board must be representative of the minority to be served.

Educational Television

Any public agency or nonprofit private organization may apply for a grant to pay the cost of developing and producing "integrated children's television programs" which both teach concrete academic skills and encourage interracial and "interethnic" understanding. [Only five grants were to be awarded in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973.]

The type of program to be developed may be either a standard-length series or one-minute spots. Of the six following "areas of concern" full-length features may address the first three, while the spots may deal with all six:

1. Bilingual and bicultural approaches to both the development of skills and the deeper understanding and appreciation of the two cultures and histories.

2. Instruction in reading, math, art, music and basic science – either supplemental or introductory.

3. Instruction in family life-related academic skills, directed particularly at those of secondary-school age.

4. Dropout problems, counseling and other approaches (spot only).

5. Understanding and appreciation of art, music, literature and other cultural attainments of various racial and ethnic groups, the target audience's own and others (spot only).

6. Reduction of interracial or interethnic tension and conflict (spot only).

These programs must be made "reasonably available" for transmission free of charge and may not be transmitted under commercial sponsorship. If costs of transmission are met by a commercial firm, "a brief statement to that effect at the beginning or end of such transmission shall not be considered commercial sponsorship." No one is to benefit financially from the use or transmission of the program.

Funds may not be used for construction or repair of a building or facility, nor for any equipment which is not consumed in use (such as workbooks and other nonbroadcast materials).

Information which must be provided by an applicant for educational TV funds includes:

- A detailed description of programs, the target audience and the gains expected.
- Name, race and professional background of those putting shows together.
- Details on evaluation, including how change is to be measured among target audiences.
- Details of past experience of the applicant.
- Information on research techniques, production standards, nonbroadcast materials and field activities to assure audience participation.

The criteria for assistance are:

A. Needs assessment: comprehensive assessment of needs; how audience size has been assessed; and audience size.	10
B. Statement of objectives: match the subject matter to the needs.	13
C. Activities (35-37 points)	
–Program content and design, including the use of minority and nonminority characters and other techniques to keep interest.	10
–Staffing.	12
–Capacity of facilities to do a good job.	10

–Supplementary materials. (Applies only to standard-length programs.)	2	
–Parent and community involvement.	3	
		35-37
D. Resource management.		6
E. Evaluation: includes early testing to see which production techniques reach audiences best.		5

Advisory committees are required, and if the primary broadcast area exceeds school district boundaries, the committee membership must reflect the larger area.

Evaluation

Many rules already govern such evaluation activities, especially in the field of education. Evaluation contracts will be awarded on the basis of requests for proposals. Such requests will generally seek evaluations on a national basis for specific categories for grants. The criteria for funding will include the following, with no specified weighing of points for each: statement of objectives, technical approach, management plan, data techniques, staff capabilities, resource management and scope.

Special Projects

Special projects are divided into "special reading projects" and "other projects" – which USOE determines "will make substantial progress toward achieving the purposes of the act." (There is no descrption or criteria or even discussion in the guidelines of what is meant by "other projects.")

Reading projects are limited to schools with 20% to 50% minority enrollment, and the program is aimed at improving reading performance of both minority and nonminority children. Each classroom affected by the program must have both minority and nonminority children in it, and nobody may be "removed from their regularly assigned classrooms on a regular basis in order to participate in a program . . . but may be removed on an occasional basis for special treatment or services." A special reading needs assessment must be submitted, and the signature of the principal in the school to be served is also required.

In fact, the principal is the key figure in the reading projects. He heads up a "unit task force" which serves as a broadly based advisory group drawn from the community and teachers, and includes at least one other administrator. In addition, the advisory group must be made up equally of minority and nonminority representatives; half must be parent; and if a secondary school is involved, the advisory council must include two student members. No changes can be made in a program without the approval of a majority of the council.

Criteria for the reading projects reverse the usual ratio, with only 20 points for "objective" criteria and 105 points for educational and programmatic criteria.

I. Objective (20 points)			
A. Need: number and percent of minority group students in the applicant district.			10
B. Isolation reduction. (See description under Metropolitan Area Projects.)			10
			20
II. Educational and programmatic (105 points)			
A. Needs assessment: standardized reading tests required.			20
B. Statement of objectives: the minimum requirement is that students reach "normal range" of reading scores in three years.			20
C. Activities			
–Curriculum development.	10		
–Staffing including training and integration.	20		
–Community involvement.	10		
			40
D. Resource management: minimal new equipment earns points.			5
E. Evaluation.			20
			105

Title IV, Civil Rights Act of 1964: Desegregation Planning and Implementation

The U.S. Office of Education announced new guidelines for programs in desegregation planning and implementation to be funded under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The guidelines were effective for programs beginning no earlier than July 1, 1973, and ending no later than June 30, 1974. (Applications for the fiscal 1974 grants had to be accepted by USOE by April 15, 1973.) Information on funding in future years can be obtained from USOE or from any of the 10 regional offices of USOE.

Programs are funded in four categories:

1. *Grants to school boards*
   Desegregating or desegregated school districts with severe desegregation-related needs may apply for funds to employ a desegregation specialist or in some cases to conduct inservice training for their school personnel. Since a broad range of desegregation services will be available to school districts through the three other Title IV programs described below, districts applying for a grant under this category must be able to demonstrate exceptional need. Any activities conducted as a result of such a grant must be part of a comprehensive, long-range planning effort in the area of desegregation. No more than 30 grants are expected to be made in this category. Selection of applicants for funding will be determined according to the number and percentage of minority students enrolled in the district and the educational quality of the proposed project.

2. *Grants to state educational agencies to provide desegregation assistance*
   State educational agencies may apply for funds to provide technical assistance to desegregating or desegregated school districts within their states. As evidence of need for such services, each applicant must present letters from school districts stating specific desegregation-related needs and requesting desegregation assistance from the state educational agency. Selection of applicants for funding will be determined according to the enrollment of minority students in desegregating or desegregated districts requesting assistance and the educational quality of the proposed program.

3. *Awards to organizations providing desegregation assistance to school districts in designated service areas*
   Public or private organizations (including colleges and universities) may apply for funds to provide assistance to school districts in the preparation, adoption and implementation of desegregation plans. Organizations receiving these awards will be known as General Assistance Centers. No more than 26 awards will be made, with a maximum of one award being made in each of 26 service areas. Service areas have been determined geographically according to need for desegregation assistance. They are listed in the application materials. Each center will be responsible for providing a comprehensive range of technical assistance and training services to desegregating or desegregated school districts located within its service area. As evidence of need for such services, each applicant must present letters from districts within its service area stating specific desegregation-related needs and requesting assistance from the applicant organization. Selection of applicants for funding will be determined according to the enrollment of minority students in desegregating or desegregated districts requesting assistance and the educational quality of the proposed program.

4. *Grants to conduct desegregation training institutes*
   Colleges and universities may apply for funds to train teachers, counselors, administrators and other school personnel in techniques for solving special educational problems brought about by desegregation. Such training may be conducted only at the request of one or more boards of desegregating or desegregated school districts. Topics treated in institute sessions will be determined according to the desegregation-related need of the school districts involved. It is expected that follow-up activities will be part of the institute planning and that participants will be prepared to return to their jobs and train their colleagues, either formally or informally, after completing the institute activities. As evidence of need for training services, each applicant must present letters from desegregating or desegregated school districts stating specific desegregation-related needs and requesting training services from the applicant institution. Selection of grantees will be determined by the educational quality of the proposed training project.

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Bibliography

U.S. Office of Education series, *Planning Educational Change.* Four booklets about desegregation and/or integration. All four are available from the Supt. of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402:

Vol. I: *Technical Aspects of School Desegregation,* a step-by-step planning aid included entirely in this NSPRA report. Catalog No. FS 5.238:38014; 45¢.

Vol. II: *Human Resources in School Desegregation,* the "systematic approach" to community, policy group, administrative, instructional and student elements in trying to achieve desegregation goals. Catalog No. FS 5.238:38012; 50¢.

Vol. III: *Integrating the Desegregated School,* describes the changing professional roles played by teachers and administrators to achieve "a condition in which members of different racial groups can relate to each other and work together while maintaining their identities." Catalog No. HE 5.238:38016; $1.

Vol. IV: *How Five School Systems Desegregated,* brief "sketches" of the experiences of the school systems of Chapel Hill, N.C.; Chattooga County, Ga.; Riverside, Calif.; Rochester, N.Y.; and Sherman, Tex., in desegregating. Criticisms by USOE authors appear in each sketch. (Rochester has reversed its stand since the booklet was published.) Catalog No. FS 5.238:38013; 40¢.

Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, United States Senate. *Toward Equal Educational Opportunity* (final report, Dec. 31, 1972). One of the most fruitful sources of detailed information about desegregation, based on nearly three years of hearings by the Senate committee, which was conceived and chaired by Sen. Walter F. Mondale. (The report is referred to throughout the text as the Mondale committee report.) Available from the Supt. of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402; $2.75.

Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate. *Equal Educational Opportunity Hearings,* Part 1A through Part 22 (the "Mondale committee report"). Hearing testimony, much of it containing valuable experiences of state and local school officials; and in-depth discussions of such selected topics as "Mexican-American Education," and "Metropolitan Aspects of Educational Inequality." Most but not all volumes are available from the Supt. of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, at prices between $1.00 and $2.50. In addition to the numbered hearing volumes, there is a 663-page volume, *Selected Court Decisions Relating to Equal Educational Opportunity,* of possible interest to school board attorneys for $2.75 from the Supt. of Documents, above address.

American Friends Service Committee. *It's Not Over in the South: School Desegregation in 43 Southern Cities 18 Years After Brown.* Six civil rights groups compiled this booklet after a massive monitoring effort in the 1971-72 school year. It raised the hackles of many superintendents who thought it unfair, but it also highlighted some of the particularly positive aspects of some desegregation efforts as well as problem areas and second-generation concerns of Southern school desegregation. Available from American Friends Service, 52 Fairlie St. NW, Atlanta, Ga. 30303; $1.

National Council for the Advancement of Education Writing. *School Desegregation.* A primer for reporters and others who must write about school desegregation, the booklet contains simple descriptions of Washington, D.C., and judicial developments, a glossary of terms, experts' views, bibliographies and sources of help which might make the book useful as a handout to education writers or broadcasters who cover a school district's desegregation efforts. Available through the Council, Miss Cynthia Parsons, Executive Director, PO Box 233, McLean, Va. 22101.

Integrated Education Associates. Two books, *Desegregation Research, An Appraisal* and *The Education of the Minority Child: A Comprehensive Bibliography of 10,000 Selected Entries.* Both by Meyer Weinberg, the titles are self-descriptive. The research appraisal contains much that has since been challenged by the controversial David Armor study, but has value nevertheless as a study of studies. Both are available from the Associates, 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60604. The research study costs $3.75, plus 40¢ for mailing, and the bibliography is $3.95, plus 40¢ for mailing.

SNPA Foundation Seminar Books. *School Desegregation: Retrospect and Prospect.* A collection of talks given in 1970 by experts both in and out of school districts and government. Most of the material is distinguished by its basis on experience rather than theory. Southern Newspaper Publishers Assn. Foundation, PO Box 11606, Atlanta, Ga. 30305; $2 each.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Your Child and Busing,* a booklet that puts busing in perspective for parents by dealing with such aspects as 10 "fears and myths" about busing. It gives answers which school administrators might find useful for adoption as their own. Supt. of Documents, Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402; 35¢; quantity discounts.